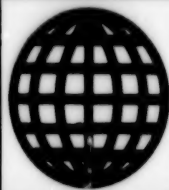


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8 October 1993



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

PAKISTAN

Near East & South Asia

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JPRS-NEA-93-101

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International Affairs

Solidarity With Bosnian Muslims Praised

93AS0985F Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jun 93 p 11

[Editorial: "A Gesture of Solidarity"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Pakistan has shown its solidarity and sympathy with the persecuted Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina by responding quickly to the Bosnian ambassador's request to give shelter to some Muslim refugees who were facing expulsion from Croatia where they had fled some months ago in search of safety from the Serbian holocaust. The envoy had made this request to the Prime Minister on Wednesday and on Friday the first batch of 266 men, women, children and infants reached Islamabad by a special flight. A second batch was expected to arrive yesterday and more may be coming later. These people have been living in refugee camps in Croatia for the last two months. But they were no longer welcome in Croatia. In fact, since the Croats also joined the fray in killing and oppressing the Bosnians, which until then was the monopoly of the Serbs, the Bosnian Muslims are no longer safe in Croatia as well, and they cannot return to their own homes for fear of being massacred by the rampaging Serbs. The so-called safe havens created for them by the U.N. are meaningless because the U.N. has neither the military strength nor the will to protect these 'safe' places from Serbian attacks.

Those stranded in Croatia needed to be evacuated immediately and taken to a safe place. By promptly acceding to the request for shelter, Pakistan has fulfilled its obligation as a Muslim nation, which feels a special responsibility towards all Muslims, wherever they are, who may be in dire straits for one reason or another. And today there are no people more desperately in need of practical help and assistance than the beleaguered Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Thousands of them have already died from indiscriminate shelling and systematic slaughter and persecution perpetrated by hostile Serbs and thousands more have perished from hunger and lack of medicine and shelter in the face of eastern Europe's merciless winter.

Now that they are in Pakistan, the Bosnians should be accorded all help, facilities and care which they need in ample measure after months of terror, privations, and insecurity that marked their lives in their own country and then in Croatia. The Prime Minister has assured that in spite of limited resources, Pakistan will make every possible effort to make their stay here comfortable. According to plans, the Bosnians will stay in the Haji Camp in Islamabad for several weeks before they are moved to camps specially being set up for them in cooler places like Abbottabad or Mansehra. But the authorities will have to make sure that the Bosnians do not suffer on account of neglect, greed or mismanagement which often happen in such cases. One newspaper report speaks of slipshod, and inadequate arrangements in the Haji Camp where the refugees have been housed for the moment. The authorities should immediately look into the matter and, if true, rectify the deficiencies. They must also ensure that all help, in cash or kind, meant for the refugees do not go astray. As long as the

Bosnians stay with us, they are our honoured guests, deserving of all respect, care and considerations.

Bosnian Refugees Warmly Welcomed

93AS0984B Lahore THE NATION in English 20 Jun 93 p 8

[Editorial: "Bosnian Refugees"]

[Text] Pakistan's support for humanitarian causes—one illustration of which is the despatch of Pakistani troops under U.N. Command to Somalia and Cambodia—as also for Islamic causes, demonstrated through Pakistan's support to unity of the Ummah, hospitality to the Afghan refugees for the last many years and now its offer of refuge to Bosnian Muslims, living as prisoners in Croatia, does the nation proud. It also serves as a befitting reply to those who would like to dub us as terrorists. The most commendable part of the relief operation for the Bosnians is the alacrity with which the government machinery moved on the directive of the Prime Minister. The Bosnian Ambassador to Pakistan, Ms Sajida Siligzic met the PM on the evening of June 16 with the request that 867 refugees in Croatian camps, under notice of vacation of the camps, be given shelter in Pakistan. The Prime Minister gave the administration just one day to fly them over. The first lot of 260 refugees was flown to Islamabad on June 18 and driven to the Haji Camp. After about a month they are likely to go to the relatively cooler environment of Abbottabad, where living quarters for them are said to be in the last stages of completion. All this is wonderful. Full marks to those who chartered the aircraft, alerted the management of the Haji Camp, the welfare staff and the media. But there the story of our efficiency ends. It seems that the concern felt at the highest executive level in the country did not filter down to the levels either at the airport or the Haji Camp. If one day was enough for doing the more complicated job of chartering a plane and bringing people from Croatia, surely it should have been more than enough for the Ministry of States and Frontier Regions to make appropriate arrangements for their comfort in Islamabad. To carry them in vans which had no air-conditioning, to bring them into a transit lounge which was without adequate facilities for the tired, weak and suffering passengers, where there was just a single counter for cold drinks, where neither drinking water nor proper glass tumblers were available and where at the next stage of their stay, hot and crowded rooms with uncomfortable mattresses could only be provided, reflects poorly on the resources of the Ministry as well as on the imagination of its administrators. They should have foreseen the problems and with the help of the Bosnian Mission, got signs written in Bosnian language, had at least two official interpreters ready, brought more volunteers to help the refugees, etc.

Whatever the shortcomings in this case, which one hopes will be remedied by the time the next batch of the refugees arrives, one cannot but thank the Almighty for there being a Pakistan, which despite its lack of financial and material resources, has always opened its arms to the Muslims of the world. It is a safe haven, regardless of their nationality, for all the Muslims in distress. The country and its leadership

owes a duty to itself and to its Islamic ideals to preserve this haven and make it even safer for themselves and for the Ummah.

U.S. Congress Thanked for Support on Kashmir

93AS0984J Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
20 Jun 93 p 3

[Text] Islamabad, June 19—Prime Minister of Azad Jammu and Kashmir Sardar Mohammad Abdul Qayyum Khan today thanked 201 American Congressmen for having voted for a move to make U.S. economic and military aid conditional with ending violation of human rights in the occupied Kashmir.

He said though the move did not succeed yet he considered it a great success for Kashmiris to have mustered the support of so many congressmen.

In a telegram to congressman Dan Burton copies of which were endorsed to his 200 colleagues Prime Minister AJK [Azad Jammu and Kashmir] said Indian atrocities on the people of Jammu and Kashmir have surpassed brutalities committed by Nazis against Jews during World War II. These atrocities should not be ignored merely because India is a brutal regional force of a very huge size. The state of affairs obtaining in the Indian occupied Kashmir should provoke serious thought among those who espoused the cause of peace, democracy and human rights.

Sardar Qayyum said Americans had won their independence at the cost of supreme sacrifices. Thus they should value liberty and independence and could appreciate the sacrifices being rendered by Kashmiris. According to international media over 30,000 Kashmiris have been martyred in the occupied land and equal number had been wounded or detained in jails. Violence and bloodshed had become order of the day there.

He said India was pursuing religious recist [as published] policy and genocide of Kashmiri Muslims was being committed in a pre-planned manner.

He further said the balance of power would get disturbed in the region in case America continued to patronise India and stepping up its economic and military aid to her. This would augur ill for the peace of the region. India till recently was an ally of the Soviet Union against the United States. There was now no reason for America to back India against her own allies who closely stood by it during the cold war.

Sardar Qayyum called upon the U.S. Congress to set up a committee of its members to visit both sides of Jammu and Kashmir and investigate the complaints regarding violation of human rights. He said the U.S. responsibility towards solution of Kashmir dispute had increased manifold following its emergence as a sole superpower.

He expressed the hope that the congressmen in larger number would continue their rightly directed endeavours as Hindu fundamentalism, extremism and fanaticism were on increase in India and the United States paid immediate attention to this aspect.—PPI

India Said Developing Close Relations With Iran

93AS0984G Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
21 Jun 93 p 6

[Article by Mohammad Ali: "India's New Iran Policy"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Indian Defence Ministry's annual report for 1992-93, recently presented to the Parliament, is quite intriguing in many ways. But the most startling are its suggestions and insinuations to show up Iran as a threat to the security of India. The report asserts that Iran stands out conspicuously in the region in terms of rapid military build-up and modernization of its armed forces, and force projection capability.

This new Indian stance is in sharp contrast to the Indian professions of good relations with the Middle Eastern states and its claim of support to their causes in the past. What has prompted New Delhi to take up this new position? Different interpretations have come up. But the most widely held view is that the previous stance of India in the bipolar world of the past was a sheer sham, mainly intended to woo the Muslim states on its side against Pakistan, but now with the emergence of U.S. as the only global superpower, India feels no compulsion of playing this game. It has accordingly altered its world-view and has abandoned its erstwhile friends to perpetuate its own goals.

The shift in India's Iran policy is thus a part of its new strategy to promote its own interests by tailoring its policies in accordance with the current U.S. perceptions of Iran. By identifying itself with the U.S., India hopes to gain the sympathies of other western nations and secure their support for the development of its military, nuclear and missile programmes on the one hand and to win their backing for the fulfillment of its long-cherished dream of having a permanent seat in the UN Security Council on the other. For this, India considers abandonment of its erstwhile friends too little a price to pay.

The assertion in the defence Ministry's report that the Indian High Command considers this new-found potential of Iran as beneficial to Pakistan in the event of an India-Pakistan conflict is quite meaningful. This indicates that the objective of such Indian assertions is two-fold: first, to show to the world that Iran which already is on the 'terrorist list' continues to be engaged in pursuit of arms build-up; and second to frighten the world community that a Pakistan-Iran nexus could complicate the regional situation. India thus wants to kill two birds, that is, Pakistan and Iran, with one stone by getting the former declared a "terrorist state" and preventing the latter through the Western pressure from pursuing its legitimate defence programme.

The Indian intentions are indeed becoming quite obvious from its growing ties with Israel. Apart from upgrading its diplomatic relations with Israel to the ambassadorial level, New Delhi is going ahead in all earnestness to expand its ties with Tel Aviv. And its overtures in this direction are receiving prompt and enthusiastic response from Israel. The ultimate objectives of this alignment were forcefully articulated by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in an interview with daily *TIMES OF INDIA* on 2 March, 1993. He

said: "Israel had been a victim of extremist Islamic attitude and fanaticism backed by Iran which she is spreading all over the Muslim world, including Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia and Algeria. It serves as a springboard for attacks not only against India and Israel but against Arabs as well. The world is not aware of the danger that the 'take-over' of communism by the Islamic fundamentalists will cause. To control this threat, Israel is more than ready to extend cooperation to India in various fields, including defence."

This identity of views, as expressed in the Indian Defence Ministry's report and as articulated by the Israeli Prime Minister in his interview, leaves no doubt that both Israel and India have colluded to keep the Muslim countries, particularly Iran and Pakistan, fumbling. While the Defence Ministry's report cleverly charges both Iran and Pakistan with excessive armaments and arms build-up, it offers no plausible explanations for India's own massive efforts for raising a formidable military machine in the region. It gives no explanation as to why India was having such a large naval force and was further beefing it up when it faces no real threat from the seas. Nor does it explain the necessity of having 24 atomic reactors including two fast-feeder reactors and a stockpile of about 1000 kg of weapons-grade plutonium, enough for fabricating over 100 to 125 nominal yield atom bombs. The report also is silent on the rationale underlying India's frantic pursuit of development of a whole range of rocketry, space technology and missiles, when it is already indigenously producing Prithvi and Agni missiles that have given new teeth to its overall offensive capability. Agni is India's prestigious intermediate range surface-to-surface missile which has a range of 1500 km. Efforts are afoot to increase its range from 2500 to 5000 km. Even with its 2500 km capability, Agni can engage targets in the north up to Kazakhstan and major areas of China, in the east up to ASEAN states and in the west up to Iran, the Gulf, and Saudi Arabia. With its improved version having a range of 5,000 km, the Agni missile would be able to hit any target in China, Kazakhstan, Turkey, Egypt, the Horn of Africa, Japan, ASEAN states and parts of Australia. The Indian defence experts in private concede that Agni missile is capable of carrying one-ton nuclear warhead and can also be used to launch satellites.

So, why this feigned concern about the legitimate defence needs of Iran and Pakistan? These indeed are mere ploys being used by India to divert the world attention from its own massive arms build-up. To be a regional power, India would like to keep the countries weak on its periphery. In this calculation, old friendships just do not matter. Iran, the Arab states, the Palestinians and, for that matter any other country near or far, just count for nothing. What matters is New Delhi's own ambitions.

France Told Nuclear Program 'Entirely Peaceful'
93AS0984E Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
25 Jun 93 p 14

[Text] Paris, June 24—Pakistan neither possesses nor has the intention to acquire nuclear arms and its atomic energy programme is entirely peaceful.

This was declared by Pakistan Ambassador to France, Saidullah Khan Dehlavi while addressing a group of French intellectuals in a debate organised under the auspices of Centre d'Etudes et de Reflexion.

He gave a rationale for Pakistan's nuclear programme, emphasising the government's commitment to nuclear non-proliferation.

He highlighted the number of proposals Pakistan had made to ensure that South Asia remained free of nuclear weapons, adding that in spite of certain reservations Pakistan would be willing to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] simultaneously with India.

He outlined the Prime Minister's proposal for a five-nation consultation, which had been supported by all the countries concerned except India, and said that the regional approach to non-proliferation was gradually gaining ground in international circles.

Mr Dehlavi informed his audience, which also included the members of the diplomatic corps and journalists that the west's suspicions against Pakistan's nuclear programme were ill-founded triggered off by India's nuclear explosion of 1974.

He said, Pakistan not only understood but fully shared western nations' concern over the danger of nuclear proliferation, but Pakistan's credentials in this respect should not be doubled.[as published]

He said, cooperation between France and Pakistan was initiated 20 years ago and the two countries had signed an accord in February this year to exchange knowhow on the uses of nuclear energy in the fields of agriculture, medicine, industry and environmental protection.

Mr. Dehlavi affirmed Pakistan's determination in work not only for the cause of nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia but even for conventional arms reduction, as long as such measures did not become unilateral and jeopardised national security.—APP.

World Claimed Insensitive to 'Atrocities' in Kashmir
93AS0984F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
26 Jun 93 p 6

[Editorial: "How Long Will Kashmir Bleed?"]

[Text] Briefing newsmen at Islamabad, a Foreign Office spokesman expressed Pakistan's concern over the massive build-up of Indian troops along the Line of Control in Kashmir as well as on other Indo-Pak borders. He called it a serious matter and said "we are trying to defuse the situation." Referring to the reports that there has recently been sporadic firing between Pakistani and Indian troops along the Line of Control, the spokesman said the authenticity of the reports has yet to be verified. He informed the newsmen that during his visit to London earlier this month, the Foreign Secretary briefed British officials about the recent situation and developments in the Indian Occupied

Kashmir with particular reference to the policies of repression and atrocities of the Indian forces against the Kashmiri people.

Besides the huge number of active troops, Border Security and para-military forces stationed in Occupied Kashmir, two more Divisions of the Indian Army have been inducted in the Valley to bolster the recently launched Operation Crackdown and inflict further brutalities upon the innocent civil population. In an effort to restore peace in the occupied territory by suppressing the freedom fighters, the Indian authorities want to create a situation wherein elections can be held in the territory occupied by them in Kashmir. This is wishful thinking as hardly anyone participated in the elections held there some years back. They conveniently forget that those laying down their lives for the justified cause of freedom from alien domination can never be suppressed or annihilated. India itself is responsible for forcing the people of Occupied Kashmir to pick up arms against it. This is only because of the oppression and injustices they have suffered at its hands for the last 46 years. Even the massive military crackdown now in progress in Occupied Kashmir can never deter the people of Kashmir from marching towards their goal of liberation from Indian occupation. Horrifying reports are pouring in from the territories of Kashmir under Indian control. One hundred thousand military and para-military personnel have been deployed in the north of the Valley to contain the liberation movement. The military strength in Uri in Jammu region has been increased from one to three Brigades. As many as 72 villages have been besieged in Baramula and Kupwara districts where the people are being subjected to humiliation and torture during house-to-house searches and so-called identification parades. Local people are subjected to violence on the pretext of search for Mujahideen. The situation in Occupied Kashmir has taken a turn for the worse and it is time the United Nations took stock of it and forced India to see the writing on the wall and stop agonizing the Kashmiri people any further. The struggle for freedom launched in Occupied Kashmir is spontaneous and indigenous. All allegations of Pakistan's involvement in it or the stories circulated by India's propaganda machine that the freedom fighters were being supplied arms by Pakistan have been belied by reports that some senior Indian Border Security Force (BSF) officers have been court-martialled for selling arms to the Kashmiri freedom fighters. They are also accused of looting gold and ornaments during house-to-house searches. What further proof is needed of what the Indians are doing in Occupied Kashmir? Will the world community still keep its eyes closed to the happenings there and not wake up to take some concrete action?

Pressler Seen Continuing To Harm Relations With U.S.

93LA0171D Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 25 Jul 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Nuclear Program and Pak-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] According to a news report, Pakistan and the United States of America are going to begin discussions about the cold attitude of the U. S. and the nuclear problem. According to this news, the Pakistani charge d'affaires

stationed in Washington and the Pakistani representative to the United Nations, Jamsheed Marker, have begun initial talks with U. S. authorities. U. S.-Pakistan relations have been suffering from the beginning, and the real reason is the U. S. attitude, which it usually has for its allies. Pakistan has supported the United States in the SEATO [Southeast Asia Treaty Organization] and CENTO [Central European Treaty Organization] pacts and has been the major hindrance to the spread of communism in this region. However, when Pakistan needed U. S. support against its traditional enemy, India, the U. S. did not help, and began to talk about the 1959 agreement. In contrast, India's friend, the Soviet Union, provided it full support in dividing Pakistan into two pieces. In 1979, when the United States needed Pakistan after the Soviet aggression into Afghanistan, we again became helpful, opening the doors for economic and defense aid. After the defeat and embarrassment of the Soviet Union, however, the U. S. attitude changed again. Now it has stopped economic and defense aid to Pakistan, and is pressuring countries around the world to isolate Pakistan from its friends. For the last year it has been talking about declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation, and has been targeting Pakistan's nuclear program. In this situation we must be very careful when the United States offers a warm, friendly hand to Pakistan. We do not have a popular government in our country; therefore, there is danger that the United States might apply pressure, and, by providing economic aid, may be able to make decisions about our nuclear program. The fact is that the Pakistanis are very sensitive about Pakistani-Indian relations and our nuclear program, and will not allow any government to accept any conditions under U. S. pressure. However, if the United States is aware of its mistakes, and is willing to establish a friendly relationship with Pakistan within the framework of present economic, political, and defense policies, it will be a welcome development. We cannot pay the price of removing our name from the list of terrorist nations in the form of compromising our nuclear program.

Response to Hamid Gul's Speech on Kashmir Given

93AS0170B Lahore JANG in Urdu 1 Aug 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Success of Kashmir Jihad and Pakistan's Defense"]

[Text] General Hamid Gul, the former ISI [Inter Services Intelligence] director, has correctly said that the success of the Kashmir jihad is not only important for Pakistan's defense, but at the international level, it is a must for the Islam jihad. General Hamid Gul's opinion is also important because Western powers, in spite of all their verbal claims and assurances, are involved in conspiracies against Muslim progress and unity in the world. Its latest example is how after the unprecedented success of the mujaheddin in Afghanistan, efforts were made to divide up these mujahids. We also saw how they tried to victimize Pakistan with political instability. The efforts they have made to stop our attempts to establish relations with the Central Asian Muslim republics through Afghanistan are as clear as day. In addition to Western powers, anti-Islamic nations such as

Israel and India are also trying to influence the Central Asian Muslim republics. Meanwhile, the international operation continues in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Serbs and Croats are being given permission for genocide of Muslims. All paths to providing weapons to Muslims have been obstructed, and this is being done under an organized plan. This is all very clear to us now. Similarly, they know well that the campaign that Kashmir is carrying on for its independence is not only principled, but also has the support of UN resolutions. It is difficult to understand the way shameless efforts are being made to prevent Pakistan from helping Kashmiri freedom fighters. The U. S. government continues to threaten that it will declare Pakistan as a nation that supports terrorists just because of it. First of all, Pakistan is not in a position to provide weapons and training to Kashmiri freedom fighters. If it expresses its opinion at diplomatic and moral levels in support of Kashmiri freedom fighters, then as a partner in the Kashmir problem, it has the right and the duty to implement the resolution passed in the United Nations. However, the basic fact in this whole situation appears to be that Muslims in the whole world should openly and strongly help the Kashmiri freedom fighters and force the United Nations to stop procrastinating, and to pressure India directly to follow the UN resolutions on Kashmir. Most of all, Pakistan should emphasize that the Kashmir problem is equivalent to a question of life and death for Pakistan.

Journalists Want Kashmir Conference in Europe

93LA0211G Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
3 Aug 93 p 5

[Article: "Move To Involve EEC: Q. Aziz. All-Europe Conference on Kashmir in November"]

[Text] London, Aug. 2: Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz, eminent Pakistani journalist and former diplomat, has called for the holding of an all-Europe Conference on Kashmir at the non-Governmental level in London in November this year in order to focus world attention on the Indian military's barbaric repression in Indian-occupied Kashmir and the urgent need for stopping it and solving the Kashmir problem politically.

Mr. Qutubuddin, who served as a Minister at the Pakistan Embassy in London between 1978 and 1986 and subsequently served as Chairman of the semi-Government National Press Trust Group of newspapers in Pakistan, was addressing a public meeting on "The Kashmir situation" at the Asian Centre in Walthamstow on July 31 under the chairmanship of Barrister Ashraf Bashiri. Among the speakers were: Mr. Sheikh Shuja, Barrister Salim Qureshi, Maulana Yaqub Chishty, Mr. Abrar Hassan Khan, Mr. Nasiruddin Mahmud.

Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz said taking advantage of the political disequilibrium in Pakistan, the Indian Government had stepped up its brutal repression in Occupied Kashmir in the style of the inhuman Serbs in Bosnia and the Israeli tyrants in Palestine in recent years. India had raised the strength of the Indian army in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir to nearly 600,000 by adding two more divisions there. It was waging

a genocidal campaign against the Kashmiri Muslim population, using gang rape and torching homes as a common method of repression. More than 50,000 freedom-loving Kashmiris had been either killed or maimed by the Indian security forces and more than 40,000 Kashmiris were jailed in concentration camps.

A former Chief of the Indian Army who had been posted as State Governor in Srinagar in succession to a former head of the Indian intelligence agency, the RAW, had opted for military action to crush the Kashmiri freedom struggle.

Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz welcomed the formation of the Parliamentary group on Kashmir in London, he commended the work being done by the Kashmiri organisations and their supporters in the Pakistani, British and other communities to mobilise public opinion here in favour of an early peaceful settlement of the Kashmir problem. More had to be done for this cause, said Mr. Aziz and he proposed:

FIRST: a non-Governmental all-Europe Kashmir conference be held in London in November so that the countries of the EEC should know more about the Kashmir cause and about the Indian repression on the Kashmiri civilian population and the EEC be urged to exert pressure on News Delhi to stop the genocide.

SECOND: a non-governmental British Friends of Kashmir Committee be formed in London to band together eminent British opinion-makers friendly to the Kashmir cause and articulate and highly-educated Kashmiris and Pakistanis settled in the UK and it should 'lobby' in Parliament and media and other opinion-mouling sectors for justice and peace in Kashmir.

THIRD: an active coordinating council of various Kashmiri organisations in the UK be set up urgently to cooperate their work for full-scale projection of the Kashmiri cause for self-determination in the UK and Western Europe.

Earlier, Mr. Qutubuddin Aziz presented copies of his latest book, *The Murder of a State* (about India's armed grab of Hyderabad State in 1948) and the Saudi international edition of his Seerat book, *"The Prophet of Islam—a blessing to mankind"* to the Asian Centre. Mr. Aziz is flying back to Pakistan after a week.

Linkage of NPT, Kashmir Issues Resented

93LA0211J Lahore THE NATION in English 3 Aug 93 p 7

[Article by S. M. Koreschi: "Linking Kashmir With NPT"]

[Text] In the year 1993, we have made two major diversions in our policies on Kashmir and NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], just two years before it is not known what will be the future regime of NPT, for it is due for a "review," or more appropriately redrafting in 1995. I find this linking of the two most important issues a mystery, for it is either dangerous in one shape or a non-starter in the other. It does not serve our larger national interests.

That this has become the established policy is borne out from two events at which the same view has been reiterated by successive regime. The same view was voiced by Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan of Nawaz Sharif government

when he went to Washington in March 1993 as Prime Minister's Special Envoy to USA to dissuade them from implementing their declared threat to put Pakistan on the "terrorist countries list." It has again been reiterated by the Caretaker Prime Minister, Moeen Qureshi, on 29th May, 1993, in Washington, to American and Pakistani journalists. In both these statements an impression is created as if this linkage is a Pakistani demand. The Caretaker Prime Minister is reported to "have made it clear that there was a linkage between Kashmir and Non-Proliferation."

The common denominator between the two statements underlines the point that the Pakistan Foreign Office is now peddling this view.

My submission is that this idea had been planted on Pakistan and is not of Pakistani origin. Furthermore, it is intended to link Kashmir with another issue of great complexity so that Pakistan is engaged in a wild goose chase, and Kashmir's solution becomes even more intractable. For it will be seen that in one case, it is a non-starter and in another it has highly dangerous implications for Pakistan, for it will scuttle the Kashmir issue and bring into play highly mischievous moves.

This proposal was planted by a former American diplomat through another unofficial channel, the unofficial Pak-American informal dialogue group. However, the assessment that this proposal is dangerous is not based on the reasoning that because its origin is American, therefore, it is *ipso facto* dangerous. The approach on this matter is not on argument by prejudice, but argument by national interests.

I learnt of its real origin at a small unofficial discussion group a couple of months before Chaudhry Nisar's Washington visit took place, at a brain-storming session of former Ambassadors, Foreign Secretaries, ex-Generals, politicians, in which I was also a participant. One of the participants who was also a member of two established informal dialogue groups, mentioned that a former Assistant Secretary of State in that group had proposed that if a linkage was created between Pakistan signing the NPT and settlement by India of Kashmir it could go well with some important powers. The Pakistani who mentioned this proposal had said that he found it acceptable, as also to the Pakistani component of the group and to others. My reaction voiced during that brain storming session was practically the same as in this article. I was surprised when a couple of months later Chaudhry Nisar claimed, at Washington that Pakistan has proposed this linkage to US officials. This created the impression as if Pakistan has itself conceived of this proposal and not that it was adopted from others. Apparently, the idea landed in the Foreign Office through the circles who had voiced open support to an 'Independent Kashmir.'

Why the timing of this linkage move is considered inopportune is connected with the surmise of India's position and stand at the NPTs reviewing conference in 1993. India's proposal is to remove the 'imbalance' in the NPT between the nuclear haves and have-nots. The Pak proposal of the linkage is based on the assumption that the NPT as it is now will continue to be in force. India wants NPTs provisions to apply equally to nuclear-powers as well as to non-nuclear

powers. If India had its way, the NPT would not be the same as at present. Pakistan is losing an opportunity for a favourable revision of the NPT by proceeding on this assumption that it will remain in tact. When India moves its proposals and they find support of a vast majority, it might be in Pakistan's own national interest to cooperate with India and the majority to have a new NPT rather than the existing one.

Proceeding much beyond the technicalities, and coming to the substance, it will be seen that the proposal is promised on the following (wrong) assumptions:

(a) Pakistan's nuclear-option serves no other purpose than that of a last resort deterrence against India only.

(b) Dimensions of the Indian Nuclear Programme are in the context of "threat perceptions" from Pakistan, which is possible only in Kashmir.

(c) When Kashmir is solved:

(i)-the "settlement" will be satisfactory to Pakistan;

(ii)-with the end of the possibility of an Pak-Indo war, total harmony will prevail in the Subcontinent and regional peace will have been assured.

(iii)-the flexibility that possession of nuclear status bestows on a medium power or a regional power is not required.

The solution that the US and the West may support (of the Kashmir problem) might be some kind of division acceptable to India (India retaining Jammu and Laddakh and the rest of Kashmir becoming independent or much of former Kashmir State may be made an independent country).

The proposal is that thereafter either only Pakistan sign the NPT as the price to be paid to India for its compromise or that both sign it.

If the ideal is that after this "settlement" of the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan opts to become a non-nuclear power, while India remains a nuclear power, the implications will be: (a) Creation of a new "pecking order" in South Asia, viz, upping India to a regional major power and downing of Pakistan to a South Asian medium power, accepting Indian hegemony; (b) Kashmir going under Indian nuclear-umbrella, and (c) India's version of its own Monroe Doctrine (Rajiv Doctrine, as some said) will take place; (d) India going ahead with its Indo-Confederation taking place on the Subcontinent; (e) with Israel being a nuclear-power in the South and India in the East, the Middle East-Indian Ocean region will fall under Indo-Israeli strategic supremacy and control.

If the idea is that both India and Pakistan will become non-nuclear states, then one is living in a fool's paradise as the defect in this is of a very major nature:

(a) It fails to understand that India's nuclear option is part of its grand strategy of power projection from Madagascar to the northern borders of the Indian Ocean in the Pacific. It is not in the context of containing a "Threat from Pakistan" but also as an instrument of Indian hegemony over the Indian Ocean.

(b) It would seem highly naive for anybody to envisage that to "settle" Kashmir with Pakistan, India will agree to become a non-nuclear country, despite its ambitions for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, and the rumours that major powers may evolve a formula to accommodate its wishes, under which India may get the seat but not the veto power.

Therefore, in its very concept, the second expectations is wishful thinking and as such a non-starter. The aim of the creation of such false hopes is to tie the settlement of the Kashmir problem to terms which may not find acceptance in India. If India agrees to settle Kashmir on a "flexible" basis, for which the US may devise a formula in line with India's wishes, it can well be on the basis indicated above. Then Pakistan would have to agree to be a non-nuclear status state. This will be a dangerous proposition, since its direct outcome will be to first create a zone of India's suzerainty over South Asia and then probably a Delhi-controlled "confederation" may be put into movement while an Indo-Israeli combination strategically controlled the vast Asian continental space and the Indian Ocean up to the Pacific border.

The idea that Pakistan can opt for a non-nuclear status in modern diplomacy is Rip Van Winklian, or too out of date (and it can be imposed on Pakistan only if foreign interference in Pakistan's vital issues reaches the level of the days Turkey was the Sickman of Europe). The days in which Pakistan's security concerns were confined to such narrow coordinates is in the distant past. The Israeli nuclear and missile programmes, the dangerous dimensions of which have been quite purposefully concealed by *Time* magazine in one of its latest issues, now brings Pakistan under Israel's direct threat.

Time has falsified this Israeli threat by exaggeratedly minimising the range of Israeli missiles and omitting to mention the military uses of its space vehicle programme and its development of the 'Arrow' space was project. Pakistan is now under the Indian and Israeli nuclear threat. It will be very serious for us to ignore the dangerous implications of India-Israeli collusion in view of their common intentions against Muslim countries.

Furthermore, Kashmir is a problem of international morality, of human rights, application of the democratic principle of letting people decide their own destiny world conscience, UN principles, etc., NPT is connected with power play on an international scale. Is it being suggested that a deal be made abandoning moral principles by making them subordinate to strategic considerations?

While it is agreed that the explanation of Pakistan's nuclear programme given in Washington by Moeen Qureshi is the best ever by any head of Pakistan's government, since it is rational, balanced, convincing, and credible, and one would like this to be the standard reply in future by our officials and missions, in principle it seems that the Caretakers avoid making any statements of a political nature on such sensitive issues as nuclear policy and Kashmir, beyond the set policies, Caretakers have no mandate from the public and

all that they are expected to do is to hold the baby till the real parents return to take over their due charge.

Talks Over F-16's Seen Bellwether of Relations With U.S.

93LA02111 Lahore *THE NATION* in English 5 Aug 93 p 1

[Article by Ayaz Ahmed Khan: "The F-16 Negotiations and Implications"]

[Text] Islamabad—Former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had signed a 1.4 billion dollar deal with the United States government in September 1989 for the supply of 71 F-16 Falcon Fighter jets for the Pakistan Air Force [PAF]. These included eleven two seaters. The per unit price agreed to was about US \$23 million each inclusive of spares. Earlier, the PAF had purchased 40 F-16s, which were a mix of advanced Block 40 and earlier Block 15 versions. These 40 F-16s however had all weather strike and day and night air defence capabilities. The new 71 F-16s were to be the latest Block-50 highly advanced versions equipped with next generation beyond visual range (BVR) air-to-air, and air-to-surface weapons. They would have been fitted with modular mission computers as centre piece of updated avionics, wide angle headup displays, digital terrain navigation systems, and possibly AN/APG 66 (V2A) radar up-grades, GPS navigation systems and improved data modems. It is worth mentioning that the all weather strike capability of the earlier (1983-87) PAF F-16s was made possible by equipping these with ALQ-131 ECM pods, Martin Marietta LANTRIN, and Thomson Atlas laser designator pods. The PAF, commanders, fighter pilots, engineers and maintenance crews felt good that with 111 F-16 Falcon fighter jets, the PAF would be a force to be reckoned with. Its reaction, speed, flexibility reach and fire power would be an assured deterrence against any would be aggressor.

Unfortunately events took a U-turn when in October 1990 under the discriminatory Pressler Amendments the US Department of Defence banned all military supply, sale and assistance programmes to Pakistan. Pakistan Air Force was hard hit, because the F-16 was planned to be its mainstay; and with the expected induction of 71 additional F-16s Pakistan Air Force was expected to achieve qualitative if not quantitative balance with the Indian Air Force, its main adversary. Unfortunately US obsession with the infamous Pressler amendment, caused it to dishonour its commitments under a duly negotiated sale deed of 1.4 billion US dollars for the supply of 71 F-16s. This had landed the PAF in a very difficult situation and the problem has become a headache.

There was no easy or quick way out of the sudden crisis. Purchase, procurement and induction of aircraft is a long gestation process, even with ready availability of cash. Fortunately the Ministry of Defence, the Joint Staff Headquarters, PAF leadership and of course the IJI [Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad] government maintained their cool, and decided to employ discretion and diplomacy to persuade the Pentagon and the US DOD to honour their commitments for the supply of the 71 F-16s and their spares. On February 27, 1991 Mir Hazar Khan Bijrani the then Minister of Defence Production revealed that Pakistan would continue

to make payments for the supply of the 71 F-16 Falcons in the hope that Washington would see reason. But US stance became tougher with every passing day.

So high-powered technical delegations were despatched to Moscow for evaluating MiG-29, and Su-27 Fighter aircraft, and to Paris to assess the suitability of inducting Mirage-2000 air superiority fighters. While Mirage-2000 became immediately controversial because of the price tag of 1.5 billion US dollars for only 32 aircraft and in the situation of aid crunch non-affordable; the Russian response was not straightforward, though Moscow needed hard cash for its defence industry. Moscow, however, did throw feelers of readiness to sell MiG-29 fighters with spares, through third countries vis. Poland, etc. Though Pakistan had earlier obtained 90 Luftwaffe F86s earlier via Iran, the Moscow offer smacked of enhanced Russian penchant for corruption and underhand dealings, which was rejected by the PAF. Purchase of a frontline fighter replacing the F16 thus became a headache for the PAF causing frequent migraines.

Fortunately PAF authorities have preserved, and have continued to negotiate with US Defence authorities seeking permission for the commercial purchase of F-16 spares. Fortunately last year late General Asif Nawaz's persuasion prevailed, and Washington agreed to the cash sales of spares for the F-16s. The sale of spares were officially excluded from the operation and enforcement of the Pressler Amendment against Pakistan. Under the circumstances this was a diplomatic success, which enabled the PAF to sustain and maintain its fleet of F-16s in proper order. Meanwhile, Pakistan kept up the payment of instalments to General Dynamics, and later to The Lockheed Corporation, who are the new owners of the F-16 Division. Reportedly Pakistan has already paid a massive amount of 700 million US dollars to the manufacturers/suppliers in the firm hope that sense of fairplay would one day persuade US officials to fulfil their pledges, promises and solemn commitments regarding the delivery of the 71 F-16 fighters to the PAF. The highly conciliatory attitude of the Chief of the Air Staff of the PAF towards the Pentagon, the USAF and suppliers and his sincerity and maturity undoubtedly has contributed and influenced the US Department of Defence to despatch a high-level USAF delegation to Islamabad for detailed discussions on the subject. Of course, the US team headed by the Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of State Major General Hurd has arrived on the invitation of the Ministry of Defence and the Chief of the Air Staff to discuss problems arising out of the non-delivery of the F-16 planes to Pakistan. It is hoped that the attitude to the visiting US five-member delegation would be open and conciliatory. With reciprocity and understanding a way out is possible. It is hoped that commercial sale of F-16 fighters is agreed to on the same basis as the sale of F-16 spares was agreed to and approved last year. The fact is that the sale of the 71 F-16 was negotiated and signed and paid for before the Pressler Amendment. Their supply to the PAF logically and legally, therefore, should be excluded from the shackles and operation of the damaging and highly discriminatory Pressler Amendment.

The worst scenario is the possible termination of the contract for the sale and supply of the 71 F-16 Falcons to

Pakistan by the manufacturers on the pretext that the July instalment of US dollars 93 million was withheld. Pakistan's argument is that the instalment was withheld "on account of the default in delivery" by the US company, besides Pakistan has already paid US \$658 million since the contract was signed three years, and it is the manufacturer and the supplier which has defaulted for this long period, which amounts to unprecedented breach of an international trade contract. But then in the New World Order, only the US can dictate terms regardless of law and legitimacy.

It is reported that "the talks will mainly focus around technical matters." According to news report Pakistani officials are expected to discuss: (1) The possibility of reinterpretation of the Pressler Act, by taking the position that the F-16 sale was a commercial cash sale, and the US Company should start delivery of the F-16 planes which have already been fully paid for. (2) That the contract with general dynamics was ignored well before the passing of the Pressler Act. (3) That the planes are required purely for self-defence. (4) And that Pakistan does not wish to terminate the contract, because such an unwise step would have serious implications for Pakistan's national security and for the warm and friendly relations with the United States of America which Pakistan is keenly desirous of maintaining, we hope and pray that the US team has not come with a negative brief from the Department of Defence or the Department of State, i.e., take a rigid line and insist on termination of the contract and thereby termination of friendly relations between the two countries.

It is hoped that the US team does not demand Pakistan's consent for the sale of these planes to a third country. Though Pakistan would be right in demanding compensation along with profit if this happens; but this would corrode mutual relationship for a long time to come. As a minimum it is hoped that the two dozen F-16s manufactured for the PAF, and ready at Texas for delivery should be shipped to Karachi as soon as possible. Such a recommendation by the US delegation under General Hurd to the US Congress and US Administration would go a long way to re-restore Pakistan's confidence in the United States of America.

New Ambassador to U.S. Said Close to Nawaz Sharif

93LA0225D Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
15 Aug 93 p 10

[Editorial: "Akram Zaki's Posting"]

[Text] The debate is on about secretary general, ministry of foreign affairs, Mr Akram Zaki's posting to Washington as Pakistan's next ambassador in place of Syeda Abida Husain. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] says the gentleman should be held back to allow the next elected government to make its own choice. Mr Zaki is on contract expiring in October this year and was appointed as ambassador to Washington by Mian Nawaz Sharif before he left the government. This means that Mr Zaki will get another contract for, at least three years, considered to be the normal tenure of an ambassador at a posting abroad.

There is some sense in holding Mr Zaki back. In fact, he should himself request the caretaker government to sit on the posting till the new elected government can give its approval. There is no bar under law against the recalling of an ambassador if you don't agree with his posting. One ambassador sent to Washington by caretaker PM Jatoi in 1990 was recalled by Mian Nawaz Sharif in 1991, exacting a steep price in terms of money and diplomacy. The next political appointee Syeda Abida Hussain got into trouble with the divided Pakistani community in the US and did not have a good time in Washington, which points up the wisdom of not sending a politically aligned ambassador into a community which merits a neutral person. Mr Akram Zaki, like his brother Anwar Zahid, has been closely aligned to Mian Nawaz Sharif. He is also known for indiscretion and goes into bouts of recklessness because of his flamboyant personality. He read a poem at a 'mushaira' of Chaudhry Shujaat at Gujarat which could be interpreted as a disqualification for the job, for which he has been chosen. The best bet would be to send a professional, nonaligned officer to Washington to shore up a relationship that the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government had allowed to be neglected.

'Neo-Imperialism' of U.S. Regretted, Condemned

93LA0225B Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
18 Aug 93 p 7

[Article by Sarwar Malik: "State Terrorism and the USA"]

[Text] Ever since the down-fall of former USSR the USA has assumed the self appointed role of an International Sheriff and has pinned the 'Sheriff badge' on its mighty chest. One may ask as to which international body has given it this mandate? Obvious answer is none. But one has to see the good old western movies and read their novels to understand the cultural background of American people. However, now the Americans have indeed become, without any doubt, a civilized and highly advanced society. They claim themselves to be the champions of democracy, liberty, morality and human rights and all that is good in human nature.

The USA, the present world super power, has recently given us a "New World Order." One of the cardinal principles of this order is to condemn terrorism and declare those countries as terrorist states which are found to be giving a helping hand to various so called terrorist organisations. A very noble idea indeed. The Sheriff and his friends threaten to stop all forms of aid and even threats of military action are given against such states. However, the intriguing aspect of this whole game is that most of the states declared as terrorist states, so far, are Muslim countries and particularly those which are located in the close vicinity of oil rich and strategically important areas of Middle East. Iran, Libya, Iraq are some of the examples. Sudan is on the list and Pakistan has been spared for the time being.

Let us now examine what is 'terrorism' and 'state terrorism'. The object is not to understand the meanings of the words, but to find out in the light of their meanings, the difference between terrorism and freedom fights and between terrorists and freedom fighters. Through the history of mankind

to fight in self defence or to fight against aggression and occupation forces has always been considered as a just and noble cause. People who participated in such conflicts or those who extended a helping hand to oppressed and subjugated people were considered as honourable and noble human beings and not as terrorists and vagabonds.

The American administration, their western allies including Israelis and Indians, label Pakistanians and Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists. Because these people are oppressed, subjugated and are Muslims, some Muslim countries like Iran, Libya and Iraq extend moral and material help to these unfortunate Palestinian people and Pakistan is extending moral and political support to Kashmiri people. Therefore, Iran, Libya and Iraq have been declared as terrorist states and Sudan is being threatened while Pakistan has been spared for the time being. The question is, are the USA and their allies morally and ethnically justified to make such pronouncements and judgments? Is it not a fact that Israel has occupied Arab and Palestinian lands through a war of aggression?

Is it not true that India has placed more than four fighting divisions in the held Kashmir to subjugate the unarmed Kashmiri people and deny them the right of self-determination? Is it a crime of the Palestinian and Kashmiri people to fight against the occupation forces? Since they are pitched against highly professional armies, which are well armed and well trained they cannot fight an open war and have to resort to guerilla warfare. How come they are branded as terrorists by Americans, Israelis, their allies and Indians? Did not the Americans fight War of Independence against their British masters? If Palestinians and Kashmiris are terrorists and Iran, Libya, etc., are terrorist states then by the same logic Americans, British, French and their World War II allies are also terrorists and terrorist states. Late General de Gaulle, the hero of "French Resistance Movement" should also be labelled as a terrorist leader, because he fought against the German occupation forces. Should the USA, Britain and their other Allied countries of World War II be declared as terrorist states because they provided weapons, moral and material, support to "French Resistance Movement?" Should George Washington be declared as terrorist because he fought the War of Independence? Should Marshal Tito and his "Partisan Movement" who fought against German occupation forces in former Yugoslavia, be also declared as terrorist? I am certain that Americans and their Allies will not do so and should not do so. Because the people and their leaders who participated in the War of Independence, in "French Resistance" and in Partisan Movements were honourable and heroic people who fought for their independence and national honour against the most powerful army of the time. Then why make different standards for Palestinian and Kashmiri people and their supporters?

The champions of human rights dropped the first atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, wiping out the entire unarmed civilian population of millions in these two cities. They justified the crime by telling the world that they did so to expedite Japanese surrender, to end the war and to save lives in battlefield. Had they lost the war, the American

command and would have been tried as war criminals instead of German Generals, i.e., difference between victory and defeat. In the recent past, the Bush administration, under the clever guise of implementing a Security Council Resolution, killed millions of Iraqi innocent civilians. Although we all know that the real aim was to remove the potential military threat to their close friend Israel. Even now the Iraqis and Lebanese are being harassed and threatened by various means and under different pretexts like self proclaimed "No Fly Zones" and "Security Zones." The CNN displays with great pride the film shots "The skies of Baghdad were illuminated." We also have Security Council Resolutions against Israel and India to withdraw Israeli forces from occupied territories and to hold a plebiscite in held Kashmir to give right of self determination to Kashmiri people. These two countries have been flouting these resolutions ever since these were passed. But the skies of Tel Aviv and New Delhi have not yet been illuminated by the great Sheriff. It only proves that the great Sheriff and his friends believe in selective morality and selective application of "human rights and democratic order."

In modern age, in the so-called civilized Europe most barbaric acts have been committed against Bosnian people, whose only fault is that they are Muslims. It appears that the clever Lord Owen, the so-called arbitrator, in league with his colleagues has helped the Serb forces to capture the Bosnian territory under different delaying tactics. The only surviving Muslim state in Europe is being eliminated. Yet the UNO the Security Council and the great super power, despite having all the means, have failed the Bosnian Muslims. In Kashmir, India is defying UN, and Security Council Resolutions and principles of human rights, is engaged in ruthless genocide of Kashmiri Muslims to reduce them into minority. Yet the world policeman and champions of human rights are watching as silent spectators. Muslims who fight against their oppressors are being labelled as terrorists and the countries which provide some meagre help are being declared as terrorist states. It appears that some forces, fearful of Islamic resurgence, have joined hands to ensure that no Muslim country is allowed to develop into any meaningful threat or economic and military power. But these forces must realize that the movement of wheel of history cannot be stopped.

It is time also for the Muslim, and other developing and Third World countries to carry out a reappraisal of UNO and Security Council with a view to bring structural and functional changes in these organisations. When UNO came into existence after World War II, the number of member countries from Asia, Africa and Middle East was very small, because most of these were under colonial rule. Since then most of these have become independent countries and are members of UNO. They are now in majority and must exert their pressure to reduce the influence of America and European countries in Security Council. This is essential to stop neo-imperialism from its expansionist designs under the cover of Security Council Resolutions.

Government Agrees To Help Egypt Find Militants

93LA0225K Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
23 Aug 93 p 14

[Text] Islamabad, Aug 22—The government of Pakistan is providing full-information to the Egyptian government regarding its nationals who may be present in Pakistan, the Foreign Office sources said here today.

The official sources were responding to an international wire report, datelined Cairo, carried out today by a section of the Press regarding the alleged presence of some Egyptian militants in Pakistan.

The Egyptian government had requested information on a number of Egyptians to determine whether or not they were resident in Pakistan.

If so, they would prefer their extradition to Egypt for alleged militant activities in that country, the source said and added so far the concerned authorities had been unable to trace the named persons.

The Egyptian government has not made a formal request for extradition as there is no extradition treaty between Pakistan and Egypt. They have also not provided any concrete evidence against any Egyptian which would justify his arrest, if found in Pakistan, the sources said.

It may be recalled that Pakistan had made it clear to the Arabs associated with the Afghan groups that the jihad in Afghanistan was over and had asked all such persons to leave Pakistan. Many of these Arabs have moved into Afghanistan with the Afghan groups that they were supporting while others have left for other countries.

Pakistan's policy is not to allow its territory to become a safe haven for extremist elements who may wish to operate against third countries. Under these circumstances, such individual who infiltrates into Pakistan, will be proceeded against in accordance with the law.

Mirza Aslam Beg Speaks Out Against U.S. 'Hegemony'

93LA0225I Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
25 Aug 93 pp 1, 5

[Article by Iqbal Mirza: "Beg for Harmonious Ties With U.S."]

[Text] Karachi, Aug 24—General (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg, Chairman, Foundation for Research on National Development and Security—Friends—has said, though he was totally opposed to the United States hegemony in this region, there was nothing wrong in living with peace and harmony on the basis of mutual self-respect with the super power.

In a lucid speech delivered by him at the federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry—FPCCI—dinner here last night which was followed by a question-answer session, Gen. Beg said after the disintegration of Soviet Union, United States is the only super power left on the map of the globe and there was no harm in accepting this fact openly.

In reply to a question pertaining to his statement in support of Iraq during the Gulf war which was in direct conflict with the stand taken by the government of Pakistan on this issue, the (Retd) General accepted that he transgressed his official limits in giving that statement.

But said, that was his 'inner voice' and knowing fully well its consequence and repercussions, he made that statement. 'I could not remain a silent spectator to the destruction of an Islamic country', he said.

Why did the government not retire him on that statement, he asked. His fears about the outcome and repercussions of the Gulf war have come true, he said.

Gen (Retd) Mirza Aslam Beg regretted that today even for their security, some of the Gulf states are totally dependent on the US. The US has certainly established its hegemony, he said.

He recalled the statement of former President George Bush and a US General, who had said that their purpose of Gulf war was to provide safety to Israel which they have achieved.

Having said all this, Gen. Beg admitted that today the US is a bi-polar power and nobody could afford to live with estranged ties with that super power. 'Look at Iraq. They are eating sand after having taken on the US'.

The former COAS [Chief of Army Staff] strongly suggested that we should try to carry US along with understanding and mutual respect instead of unnecessarily entering into a situation which may lead to complicating the relations.

To the delight of businessmen who listened to the former COAS with deft attention, Gen. Aslam Beg said he will be proceeding to China next month and expressed strong hope that he would bring back investments worth over a billion dollars from China.

He invited FPCCI President to join his delegation and the invitation was immediately accepted by Mian Habibullah, President, FPCCI.

Gen. Beg claimed that he enjoyed confidence of Chinese and he was going there with the purpose of signing a protocol between China and Friends to work in close cooperation in the fields and the areas on which his organisation is working in the country.

He took credit that during his tenure as COAS, the total amount in defence production and collaboration between Pakistan Army and China exceeded one billion and a half dollars.

The M-11 missile programme between Pakistan and China was initiated by him, he said and added that when he put off his uniform Pakistan had enough weapons to last 35 to 40 days in case of war. In the earlier wars fought by Pakistan, it had used all its ammunition within 7 to 10 days and that was the reason why he had to agree on cease-fire, he said.

Gen. Beg said that he shall also visit the central Asian republics to forge a much greater alliance than the ECO. He would explore possibilities of economic and military cooperation among these countries.

He made it clear that neither he intends joining any political party nor is interested in contesting the October elections. He said, he had set a time-frame for achieving his objectives but the events moved much faster than what he expected, thereby throwing his plans topsy turvy.

He said he would have announced his candidature for Presidential election had it been a direct election. But now he would wait till election to all the houses are completed.

Gen. Aslam Beg said that even if he did not float his party and ultimately decided to join one of the existing political parties, he would associate himself only with that party whose programme was close to his manifesto which he would announce in any case, he said.

His dream is to convert Pakistan into an Islamic, democratic and a welfare State, he said and added that his concept of an Islamic Pakistan is totally different from what is being projected here. He said he would elaborate on this point in his manifesto.

His programme would include administrative reforms on priority basis, social justice and political harmony and peace in Sindh. He said Sindh had faced most of the burnt during the last few years and had suffered heavily. If peace and harmony could be established in Sindh, it would automatically be established in the whole of Pakistan, he said.

To the delight of the audience, Gen. Aslam Beg announced that he will give some good news about bringing harmony between various groups and political parties in Sindh very soon.

The former COAS said that when he enters the arena, his main thrust would be to ensure that 'political will' becomes stronger than the 'Pakistan armed forces will'. He would work to this end because herein lies solidarity, integrity and strength of Pakistan, he said.

About the October elections, he said that the main battle will be fought in the plains of Punjab, Sindh and the rugged mountains of NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] between the two main contenders to power, i.e., PML(N) [Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)] and PPP [Pakistan People's Party]. It will be a close contest in which smaller groups will play a vital role.

He said it was a positive development that at least 35 to 40 per cent of the members in the National and Provincial Assemblies would be new faces.

The Gen. snubbed a questioner who thought he was acting smart by telling him that he was keen to get the MQM support and become their leader. Though, he said, he was in good contact with the leadership of 'MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement], I am not aiming at becoming the chief of the party MQM has no dearth to leadership', he said.

He said that the efforts made to divide the MQM have failed miserably. 'They will stage a comeback with a thumping majority', in the elections, he said and added: 'MQM has become stronger than before'.

Gen. Aslam Beg said it was essential that political parties in the contest give their manifesto and instead of 'promising

moon' to the people should come out with solid plans with back up assurances and action plans.

He regretted that how during the recent months the will of the people was flouted, verdict of courts not given the respect they deserved and governments dissolved before completing their tenure.

The tragedy, he said, is that 'we do not respect the institutions we belong to. The whole system has collapsed', he said.

The former COAS, however, said that elections will be held in October and as a result a healthy picture will emerge.

He predicted that the elections are going to be tough and competitive and lot of tension and infights would be witnessed.

The present political situation is a crisis situation for Pakistan but the nation, he said has the capacity to come out of this crisis.

What had happened in the past few months 'was unprecedented in the history of Pakistan', he said.

Gen. Aslam Beg, in reply to another question told the audience that despite his repeated requests, to both Ms. Benazir Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif when they were Prime Ministers, to order criminal investigations into the C-130 crash, nothing much was done in that direction.

There were some leads available on the basis of investigations conducted by intelligence agencies which could have provided material to work on further but nobody took any interest. He said, Ms. Bhutto and Mr. Nawaz Sharif should be able to throw light on this subject. Five years have passed and he feared that during this long period even whatever evidence and clues were available must have been destroyed, he said.

Earlier, Mian Habibullah assured Gen. Beg that he enjoyed great respect among the people of Pakistan in general and the business community in particular because of his invaluable services to the country.

He pointed out that his exemplary services in acquiring and developing latest technologies in defence equipment which has fortified the defence of the country and the remarkable 'restraint displayed by you in the hour of national crisis for the restoration of democracy and strengthening of democratic institutions have endeared yourself among the people at large'.

The establishment of the foundation for research on national development and security—Friends—under his patronage immediately after his retirement is a manifestation of his deep concern for the development of Pakistan into an impregnable Fortress of Islam.

The organisation of the seminar on 'regional cooperation for peace and development' by Friends in November last year brought together political and business leaders, scholars and academicians from central and south Asian countries.

Their stimulating dialogue on all aspects of regional cooperation gave enough food for thought to the policy makers and planners.

Mian Habibullah was confident that Friends which is periodically organising study group meetings and seminars on topics of national importance in various cities of the country will eventually become a 'think tank' doing in-depth study and research on various national and economic issues to give timely advice to our planners and policy makers.

'If we had set up such an organisation a few years back, we will not have to face the economic convulsions due to ad-hoc policies, delayed decisions and half-hearted measures as we see today', he said.

Mian Habibullah said that Gen. Beg's deep knowledge of national issues, be they political, economic or social compels him to request him to bring our political leaders together to deliberate on national issues and arrive at a consensus so that there is continuity and permanency in our national policies, regardless of any change in the government.

'This is the need of the hour and the requirement of time if we are to enter the 21st century with pride and dignity, he said, and added now that the embargo on your entering public life is over, we would like to know about your future programme'.

Former Army Chief Discusses U.S. Relations

BK1309103393 Lahore JANG in Urdu 26 Aug 93 pp 1,4

[Interview with former Army Chief General Aslam Beg, retired, after his recent visit to the United States; by Ataur Rahman in Lahore in the presence of Ershad Ahmad Haqqani, columnist and resident editor of JANG in Lahore, and Ekramullah, the former of the DAILY NEWS and present press secretary of caretaker Prime Minister Moin Qureshi; date not given; from the special JANG supplement]

[Text] [Rahman] General Beg, you have recently returned from a visit to the United States. Pakistan had been undergoing a process of major and fundamental political transition when you were visiting the United States and meeting U.S. authorities and intellectuals. There has always been an impression in Pakistan that no government is established here without the agreement of the United States, without prior notification in this regard, and without its consent. The current change in Pakistan has occurred at a time when the government in the United States is being run by the Democratic Party, which got the opportunity to assume power after 12 years out of office. Traditionally, this party is considered to be pro-India and anti-Pakistan. Would you kindly tell the readers what immediate and long-term interests the present U.S. authorities and policy-makers have in Pakistan and this region? What are the current perceptions and views in Washington? How has the U.S. Government been influencing the situation in Pakistan?

[Beg] I think we ourselves give too much importance to finding out how much influence the United States exerts on our affairs and to what extent it influences our political decisions. My personal observation is that the United States does take a keen interest in our affairs. It has the means and resources by which it can ascertain the political situation in Pakistan, it can know in which direction Pakistan's

economy is moving, and what the general situation is.... One of the main characteristics of the U.S. foreign policy is that it tries to find out how to manage crises which might appear in regions the United States considers sensitive so that the U.S. interests are not harmed. Therefore, it uses its resources and keeps a watch on the situation in regions where it has an interest.

Regarding your question as to the perception of the new U.S. Administration about our region, I would say that I tried to gain an understanding of them and to ascertain their perceptions during my visit. They were also interested in exchanging views with me and in knowing our perceptions. I had meetings with prominent figures at two places in Washington. One was on Capitol Hill, the site of the houses of the U.S. Congress and other offices, and the other at the Carnegie International Office, the renowned think tank organization. At both places, I met very important figures, including John Malott, the chief of the South Asian Department of the U.S. State Department. I also had a meeting with a person who keeps close watch on Pakistan and the entire region around it. They were accompanied by their aides during the meetings. They wanted to get to know Aslam Beg and to ascertain his perceptions. When people like us visit those places, they get a fair picture of Pakistan by talking with us. You can guess now how interested they were in hearing about the situation in Pakistan from me.

I feel it was good that I went abroad when changes were forthcoming in the country. I did not have any role in Pakistan. It would not have been appropriate if I had made any remarks then. However, I was fully confident that our armed forces and the government were capable of jointly making a decision. This is why, when our beloved country was on the threshold of the current changes, I told my friends in the United States not to be worried. I told them that if the Army intervened, then it would do to the extent that issues were properly resolved and that there was no chance for a coup. So, my visit to the United States at that time was very useful. They were very interested in knowing the developments in Pakistan. However, I do not think the United States was involved in any kind of direct interference in Pakistan.

[Rahman] I would like to ask you something more on this issue to satisfy the readers. You might be right in saying that the United States uses its influence but does not directly interfere in our affairs. However, some instances can be cited from the history of Pakistan, which can be termed as direct interference. In the context of recent changes, an English daily published a report on its front page according to which a few days before the changes took place, a meeting of Western ambassadors was held in Islamabad. During this meeting, the U.S. ambassador flatly expressed the opinion that this government (the Nawaz government) must go. Well, can it be termed anything other than interference?

My main question in this context is that during the Gulf war two years ago, when you were Pakistan's chief of the Army Staff, you presented a concept of a strategic defense against the U.S. designs in our region. You said that after the U.S. finished with Iraq, it would be the turn of Iran and then of Pakistan. Now the question is: Can the United States fulfill her undesirable designs, in regard to which you proposed the

idea of the strategic defense, without direct interference in a country like Pakistan where, as you say, the United States already has considerable influence? Do you think it would like to establish a government of its choice to thwart your idea of the strategic defense?

[Beg] I think there is a big difference between influence and direct interference. The United States has never resorted to direct interference. General Zia died in the August 1988 plane crash. Immediately after this, we made some fundamental decisions. No American then came to me to influence the high military leadership's decisions, nor did I invite anyone. After this, another major decision was made when the 1988 election results were announced when the Pakistan People's Party won a majority. It was about the prime ministerial post of Benazir Bhutto. I called her from my house and briefed her for two hours. I told her right there that she would be our prime minister. However, it was circulated later that the decision was made due to U.S. pressure and that Robert Oakley played a decisive role in that matter. These are all lies. At that time also, nobody came to me. It was we ourselves who made all the decisions. I think that nobody then went to the president, either. Therefore, the impression that the United States interferes in our affairs is wrong.

You referred to my views during the Gulf war. It was a major incident in our region. Such vast resources were mobilized to realize an objective—an objective having a bearing on the interests of the Islamic countries and Pakistan. I saw a new conspiracy was being implemented against the Islamic world. Some Muslim countries were also among the alliance in that conspiracy. I sensed the danger and tried to apprise the government in power at the time of this danger. I also observed a feeling of anxiety among our people. Therefore, I thought it appropriate to publicly present my concept that if the weak nations can achieve the same kind of coordination among themselves and jointly raise their voice to protect their interests, then they can resist a well-hatched and large conspiracy. By resisting, I do not mean military resistance because Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and other small countries—even jointly—could not resist the American military might. However, jointly they could raise a voice and a protest that could expose the conspiracy that I was perceiving.

[Rahman] You felt that the conspiracy could have affected our external security. It was at a juncture of history when the Soviet Union was disintegrating and the Muslim republics of Central Asia were aspiring to become independent. For the first time Pakistan was going to achieve a regional status and importance that could not have been in conformity with U.S. interests. Do you think that the United States cannot think of directly intervening in our domestic affairs to bring about changes in our external affairs that suit its own objectives?

My questions to you are about the U.S. interference in the context of the recent change of government in Pakistan. People often say that the present prime minister is an imported one. It is also being said that the present prime minister is an American export like Mohammad Ali Bogra.

Only a few months after the late Bogra was imported as the prime minister, the legislative assembly of Pakistan was dissolved, and then Pakistan became a member of U.S. treaties. Has the United States hatched a similar conspiracy in collusion with the establishment?

[Beg] So far as the disintegration of the Soviet Union is concerned, it is true that the United States executed its scheme concerning the Gulf War when it was sure of facing no opposition from any powerful country. Due to its internal situation, Russia kept silent, and it did not have the nerve to raise its voice. No one else dared raise their voice at that time, either. The United States could do whatever it wanted. It wanted to seize and establish its hegemony over the strategic and oil-rich Gulf region. It succeeded in attaining this objective.

About the second thing you mentioned, that is, about the Americans imposing a prime minister on Pakistan, I do not think it is a correct impression at all. As far as I know, it was the selection by the president of Pakistan that was accepted by our two top leaders. That is why he was appointed as the prime minister. I was in the United States at that time and do not know at all what was done or not done there in this regard. ... I came to know about it when Moin Qureshi had already been appointed to the post. I can only say that the selection was jointly worked out by our former president and politicians. They probably wanted a totally neutral prime minister. ... From this point of view, I think, Moin Qureshi is an appropriate person. Moreover, under the present situation when Pakistan is facing difficulties in the economic front and when the country needs a prime minister who is capable of overcoming these difficulties, the choice of Moin Qureshi is very appropriate.

[Rahman] The caretaker prime minister has only two and half months to stay in office. Do you think he will succeed in both formulating a suitable economic plan and implementing it within this short period? Then, there is also the question of a mandate. Has he been authorized to take any steps other than holding impartial elections in a peaceful atmosphere? Has he any right to take any major and fundamental policy steps?

[Beg] Well, he cannot bring about basic changes, but he can definitely do the groundwork to make things easy for the next government. He has devalued the Pakistani rupee, which the former government could not do because it was a political government. It might have either a positive or negative effect, and a debate is continuing on this issue. These are the steps that can benefit our economy. I think the caretaker government is not authorized to take any major and fundamental step and to implement it.

[Rahman] There have been comments in the foreign press about the political situation in Pakistan that the concept of real democracy and constitutional supremacy have not developed in Pakistan at all—not even today, despite the holding of several elections and assumption of office by so-called elected governments. The authority in this country lies, in fact, with the establishment, which is composed of top civil bureaucrats. No government, whether elected or nominated, can assume or stay in power without the

blessing of the establishment. Moreover, no final or ultimate decision can be made in this country without the approval of the establishment. The question has now assumed more significance in view of the manner in which the present change in government has taken place. A duly elected government that was restored by the Supreme Court asked the Army, which, according to the Constitution is actually a department of the federal government, to assume an important responsibility.... In response to this request, opposition leader Benazir Bhutto was brought to Islamabad by a special aircraft, and she was asked to immediately suspend her Long March program. In return, she was promised fresh elections. Without any hesitation, Bhutto then contacted a responsible figure of her party through her mobile telephone and directed that person to suspend the Long March plan. It appears that a government, whether elected or representative, or the politicians still do not have the right to make a final decision—but the establishment has.

You had been the chief of the Army Staff and involved in some of the most important decisions, and now you are planning to take part in practical politics by democratic means. Would you kindly tell us to what extent democracy can prevail in our country?

[Beg] I think it is not appropriate to draw such a conclusion in light of past events. Benazir Bhutto was in power for 20 months, and then differences cropped up between her and the president and then again between her and Nawaz Sharif. The Army was not responsible for these things. These differences reached such a level that the president had to dissolve the assembly. Subsequently, when Nawaz Sharif came to power, he developed sharp differences with Benazir Bhutto. The recent situation was also marked on the one hand by a rift between the president and the prime minister and on the other by a confrontation between the prime minister and the opposition. All these had worsened the situation to such an extent that there was no scope for improvement. Everyone wanted to get rid of them. So, was it not everybody's desire to see the Army doing something? It will be unjust if we say that the Army is responsible for this change or that it had any role—never. Why don't you ask the politicians who created this complication? When I was the chief of the Army Staff, I often used to tell Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif not to fight but to remain united, to create an understanding and reduce the tension, but there was no effect.

When Nawaz Sharif became the prime minister, the same thing started again. Would you tell me why others should be blamed for one's own shortcomings? The question is the kind of intervention the Army resorts to. Take the case of the Benazir government. Can a single person be identified who could be called my man or who was appointed on my recommendation? In Nawaz Sharif's government, too, can you identify anyone who was made a minister on my recommendation or who was included in the ministry due to my pressure? Or is there any instance indicating that I put pressure on Ghulam Ishaq Khan? Of course, I always wanted to maintain a balance in the relations. There should be a balance between the president, the prime minister, and the opposition so that things do not worsen to the extent that we recently experienced.

[Beg] When Benazir wanted to remove Nawaz Sharif from the prime minister's office in Punjab, then the horse-trading began. I told them to stop it, for God's sake, and I stopped it. I suggested that a no-confidence motion could be brought against Nawaz Sharif's government, which was constitutionally allowed. Similarly, I also prevented Nawaz Sharif from doing many things, because I felt that they would worsen the situation. If I had any intentions, I would have let these things continue so that I myself could take control of the situation when it would turn worse. The Army was back-stage when the situation deteriorated this time. However, it was forced to show up when the situation became worse. Why don't you give the credit to the Army for this positive role? I have openly said that this intervention by the Army, or you may call it use of influence, was unconstitutional. But it was necessary in that situation. This is why you might have observed that no one made any hue and cry over it. People did not come out on the streets, and there was no protest. The people thanked God and waited to see what role the politicians were going to play. Now, all the eyes are focused on the politicians who have to fulfill their responsibility. It is the obligation of the Army to maintain law and order.

[Rahman] Gen. Beg, the vigorous movement for freedom currently being launched by the Kashmiris in the Kashmir Valley against the illegitimate Indian occupation started about four years ago when you were the chief of the Army Staff. You feared that India might take revenge on Pakistan for the valiant uprising of the people of Kashmir Valley against the Indian atrocities and occupation and as a pre-emptive move you conducted a defense exercise code named Zarb-i-Momin, which was the biggest-ever military exercise in Pakistan's history. The freedom movement of Kashmir is still at its peak. Like India, the United States is also displeased about this development. It also threatened to declare Pakistan a terrorist state. When Nawaz Sharif's government was terminated on 16 April, as a first step two senior military officers—that is the present and the former directors general of the Interservices Intelligence—were suspended from their posts at the insistence of the United States. Immediately after this, they were relieved of their jobs, too. Although the freedom movement in Kashmir is at its peak, India has still been assured by the United States that no one will come to help the Kashmiris if it suppresses the movement by force. In this context, would you please tell us from the military point of view how long the Kashmiris can bear the atrocities of the Indian troops and how long can they resist them?

[Beg] The ongoing struggle for independence and self-determination in Kashmir is an indigenous one that was initiated by the people of Kashmir themselves, and they have carried the struggle forward to its present stage. India lost any political option in Kashmir long ago. Now the military option is also diminishing, but the freedom movement is expanding. It can never be stopped by any temporary maneuvers, even if that move is backed by the biggest power. Therefore, I do not think that the moves you mentioned can affect the freedom movement in Kashmir. It is purely an indigenous movement, and such a massive

movement that even India's military power failed to suppress it during the last four years.

[Rahman] You once indicated in this context that when the number of the occupation forces suppressing such a resistance movement reaches 500,000, then the stage is set for its automatic retreat. Presently, a total of 475,000 Indian troops and paramilitary forces are deployed in Kashmir. According to your observation, when will this process of retreat begin?

[Beg] While hinting at such a thing, I also spoke about the time factor. That means a particular time will also be needed for the start of this process of retreat or withdrawal. I feel that the Indian forces are increasingly bogged down in occupied Kashmir. It does not see a solution to the problem in accordance with the Indian desires, nor does it see a way out for withdrawal from Kashmir at this phase when the situation has deteriorated to such a level. This is the point where the practical success of the armed resistance movement and the retreat of the occupation forces begins. According to my observation and study, it will take two or two-and-a-half years to reach this point. As far as the policy of the government of Pakistan is concerned, it is a national issue. No government in Pakistan can keep itself aloof from the Kashmir's struggle for independence.

[Rahman] You are planning to take an active part in politics. Right at this moment you visited the United States and held meetings with important figures in that country. The conviction was rife here that you went to the United States to reconcile with the U.S. authorities and policymakers before entering the political arena. Some people expressed surprise, saying that a prominent personality of our country who once had been propagating the concept of a strategic defense against the United States now seemed to be moving toward a reconciliation. Is it because the objective situation has changed, or is it a change in your perspective?

[Beg] As far as my views about the country's interests are concerned, they are obvious to everyone. I never cared to think whether the United States would be pleased or displeased with me. I always expressed my views openly because I prefer the country's interests over anything else. I did not go to the United States to be conciliatory and to create among them a better image and impression about myself. Those were never my intentions, nor did I meet or talk with anyone with this intention in mind. I still hold the same stand I had in the past, and I have been reiterating it. I am not ashamed of it, nor do I repent about it, nor would I like to make any clarification about it. I will openly express my views whenever there is a question of the country's interests.

[Rahman] Did any intellectual or policymaker ask you any question about the strategic defense during your visit to the United States.

[Beg] No American asked me any question about it. Of course, there were some Pakistani correspondents who asked questions about it. An Indian correspondent also asked about it. I clearly answered their questions and said the same thing I told you just now.

U.S. Sanctions Termed 'No Surprise'*93LA0226C Lahore THE NATION in English 27 Aug 93 p 6*

[Editorial: "U.S. Sanctions"]

[Text] The US announcement declaring economic sanctions against China and Pakistan for allegedly dealing in sensitive missile technology in violation of international arms control regulations should come as no surprise for Pakistan. Already deprived of US military and economic assistance under the Pakistan-specific Pressler Amendment, the latest US move will hardly make any material difference to Pakistan. However, the real rub will be on the political level where despite the best efforts by Islamabad, relations between Pakistan and its erstwhile patron will further deteriorate. According to a spokesman of the US State Department these sanctions have been imposed after an investigation into a 1992 shipment from China to Pakistan which concluded that an M11 missile, capable of carrying 500kg over a distance of about 300 km had been transferred in violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR). Predictably a spokesman of the Pakistan Foreign Office has denied any wrongdoing on the part of Islamabad, stating that the danger of missile proliferation emanates not from Pakistan but from India which has so far produced the Agni and Prithvi missiles in clear violation of the MTCR. Underplaying the gravity of the latest US move against Pakistan, the spokesman in a briefing for newsmen on the eve of the sanctions has pretended business as usual, announcing that Foreign Secretary Shahryar Khan will lead a Pakistani delegation to Washington for two days of bilateral talks with US officials from Monday, as a follow-up to the discussions which the caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi recently had in Washington.

The caretaker government has a special fondness for the US. Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi, as a former Vice President of the World Bank, has rubbed shoulders with the Washington establishment and has a personal equation with the US vice president, Al Gore, whom he met during his private visit to Washington and discussed the whole ambit of US-Pak relations with him. Reportedly Gore promised Moeen that he would brief President Clinton on his discussions with the Pakistani Prime Minister and try to resolve the impasse in Pakistan-US relations as a result of continued application of the Pressler Amendment. In view of the latest US move, the caretaker Prime Minister must have realised to his disillusionment that relations between Islamabad and Washington are not a zero sum game and despite efforts by almost all Pakistani leaders in the past to do US bidding, it has essentially remained a patron-client relationship. Thanks to meeting the conditionalities of the World Bank and IMF in letter and spirit, Pakistan has got a temporary reprieve in the form of receiving the first instalment of assistance from these agencies, but, as for the tricky business of US-Pakistan relations, Moeen Qureshi must have realised that it is an uphill task which should be left to the future elected government. In the meanwhile, it is not too late and too rude to cancel the Foreign Secretary's mission to Washington, the opportunity should be used to convey to the US Islamabad's deep reservation about Washington's latest move which is really meant to further squeeze

Pakistan on the nuclear issue. The real bone of contention between the US and Pakistan is the nuclear question, on which Pakistan's stance is very clear. Any deal cut by the caretakers on the issue will be going much beyond their mandate. In any case Prime Minister Moeen should beware of the rollback lobby.

Editorial Views Alleged CIA Plans To 'Sabotage' Elections*BK1609130393 Rawalpindi HAIDER in Urdu 14 Sep 93 p 3*

[Editorial: "Does U.S. Intend To Interfere in Pakistani Elections?"]

[Text] According to a news agency report, the U.S. sensitive [hassas] intelligence agency, the CIA, has submitted a report to its headquarters that the religious parties are very active in Pakistani elections and are gaining popularity among the people. The report also says that if they win the elections and assume the reins of power, then it may possibly harm the United States and the Western countries. The CIA has recommended effective steps to keep these religious parties from coming into power and has demanded adequate funds for this purpose. Making a special mention of the Pakistan Islamic Front [PIF] in its report, the CIA has stated that if the PIF comes to power with the cooperation of other religious parties, it will adversely affect the western system in Pakistan.

Doubts are being expressed about the veracity of this report and it is being said that the publication of the CIA report on the election campaign of the religious parties is the result of some conspiracy designed to harm or benefit the PIF. But, if the report is really true, then what right does the United States or any other country, for that matter, have to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan? Pakistan is an independent country and the citizens of an independent country reserve the right to exercise their right of franchise freely and vote to power any party which they like, and the victorious party reserves the right to bring about changes in the system through constitutional amendments. Pakistan's caretaker government is also determined to hold upcoming elections in a clean, transparent, fair, and impartial manner and not to allow any force to influence the elections.

There are only 19 days left for the elections and every party is carrying out its full-fledged campaign to win them, and the CIA's activity against religious or any other party on this occasion is a matter of great concern. The CIA's report cannot be ignored. It is the duty of the caretaker government to seek clarifications from the U.S. Government about the CIA report. Aside from this, it is also the duty of all political parties to vehemently condemn the CIA report. In light of this report, we understand that the United States does not have good intentions about Pakistan and it wants to sabotage the election process by interfering in the forthcoming elections. Therefore, if the election process is disturbed in any way, the entire responsibility for this will lie on the United States.

Editorial on U.S. General's Visit, Reiterates Kashmir Stand

*BK1509115993 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
15 Sep 93 p 6*

[Editorial: General Hoar's Visit]

[Text] The commander in chief of the US Central Command General Joseph Hoar who is also being tipped as the likely successor to General Colin Powell as Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff Committee has arrived in Pakistan on a four-day official visit to hold discussion with civil and military officials on a host of bilateral and regional issues. The visit is taking place close on the heels of a week long visit of the Foreign Secretary Mr Shahryar M Khan to Washington for talks described as "positive and constructive" on regional security and nuclear nonproliferation and will be followed by COAS [Chief of Army Staff] General Waheed's visit to Washington a few weeks later. But more importantly the visit of General Hoar, the second during the current year—is taking place in the backdrop of some significant developments on the regional scene which are not only of common interest to both Washington and Islamabad but which also are likely to poise the bilateral relations between the two on a new threshold.

Important among these developments are the mutual recognition of PLO and Israel brokered by Washington, the US sanctions against Beijing and Islamabad on the issue of missiles sale and the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao to Beijing during which the two sides agreed to reduce forces along their disputed border. Both Pakistan and the US would be keenly watching, albeit for different reasons, Mr Rao's visit to Tehran next week before his scheduled visit to Washington in Oct. Washington would be watching how Tehran uses Mr Rao's visit to break its US imposed isolation and Islamabad would be worrying whether the Indian Prime Minister is out on a determined bid to wean away from Pakistan two of its strategic allies namely Beijing and Tehran.

Pakistan it seems has gone quite far in meeting US concerns to make the atmosphere conducive for bilateral talks. Just on the eve of General Hoar's visit the Foreign Office welcomed the PLO-Israel accord—a signal to the US that Pakistan's recognition of Israel may not be far away.

It however remains to be seen whether Washington regards these gestures as sufficient enough. Washington's foremost concern in the region, by its own admission, in the post cold war era is to make the region safe by preventing the build up of weapons of mass destruction particularly the nuclear weapons.

But the US would do well to ask itself whether such moves have any chance of succeeding without creating security and political climate essential for its success. As long as contentious issues between India and Pakistan—notably the Kashmir issue—remain unaddressed and continue to spit fire there will always be incentives for arms build up including proliferation of nuclear weapons. If Washington believes that nuclear proliferation is the most urgent regional and international issue it must also recognise that proliferation is basically a political problem. If the political

causes for proliferation notably the Kashmir problem are removed in accordance with the US resolutions there will be no nuclear weapons. Another message which Pakistan must once again put across to the US during General Hoar's visit is that Pakistanis won't accept any Camp David accord on Kashmir come what may.

U.S. Said Pressuring Islamic Nations To Recognize Israel

*BK1609133593 Islamabad PAKISTAN in Urdu 16 Sep 93
pp 1, 7*

[Report by Wattoo Khalid]

[Text] Islamabad—It has been learned from reliable sources that the United States has started to pressure all Islamic countries to make them endorse the Israel-Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] accord and grant recognition to Israel. In this context, special efforts are being made to persuade Iran and Pakistan to recognize Israel. Visiting U.S. General Hoar has also held talks with Pakistani military officials on the question of the approval of this agreement, and he will also discuss the issue during his talks with the president and the prime minister. According to these sources, Gen. Hoar told the Pakistani authorities that since Palestine and other Arab countries, which had been the principal parties in the entire dispute, have already recognized Israel and are also accepting the Israel-PLO accord, there is no reason Pakistan should show any hesitation in this regard. Although the Pakistani Government has been adopting a wait and see [preceding three words in English] policy, Gen. Hoar has been informed that Pakistan views with respect any efforts for peace in any region but that peace must be in accordance with the wishes and aspirations of the people of the region in question.

It has also been said by the government that the Kashmir problem is as important as the Palestine issue and that Pakistan desires a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute, but no formula or agreement in this regard will be allowed to be imposed on it. The Kashmiris must be given their right of self-determination in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions.

In the meantime, it has been learned that the U.S. general is paying an important visit to the northern areas, especially Siachen and Muzaffarabad, Azad Kashmir, too. In spite of Prime Minister Moin Qureshi's statement that the Kashmir issue will not be discussed with Gen. Hoar, the U.S. commander will be apprised of the Kashmir problem and the movement for the freedom of Kashmir at a special briefing in Muzaffarabad on Thursday, which will be attended by senior civil and military officials.

Editorial Views U.S. General's Visit, Timing

*BK1609103593 Islamabad THE NATION in English
16 Sep 93 p 4*

[Editorial: "Gen. Hoar's Visit"]

[Text] It is not unusual for top US military officials to off and on visit Pakistan on what are officially described as "goodwill missions", and General Joseph P. Hoar of the US Central Command may well be following the old precedent.

But much water has flowed down the rivers of Pakistan since the heyday of friendship with the US and American officials, particularly if they belong to the military top brass, are not prone to visiting a country which has been out of favour with Washington, unless they have a specific message to convey. What precisely is Gen. Hoar's agenda in Pakistan is anybody's guess, but given the red-carpet treatment he has been accorded, there is every reason to believe that he must have discussed with Pakistan government leaders all the major issues of mutual interest. Nonetheless, conflicting signals have emanated from Islamabad regarding the government's response to talks with the visiting US General. While the Caretaker Prime Minister ruled out taking up the Kashmir issue, the Acting President has during his meeting with General Hoar sought US assistance in the solution of the Kashmir problem. Whether there has been a communication gap between the two "big" of the caretaker administration, or they differed in their perception of priorities for a dialogue with the US General, Kashmir has to figure as the 'core issue' in any negotiations for ensuring peace and stability in South Asia. The Americans have been pressuring Pakistan to make peace with India, but their recipe for good neighbourly relations and cooperation in the region is patently one-sided. While they are willing to condone New Delhi's hegemonistic designs in the region and conveniently turn a blind eye to genocide of the Kashmir people, they have over the years singled out Pakistan for browbeating on issues which are crucial for safeguarding its security and wellbeing.

Ironically enough Gen. Hoar's visit to Pakistan has coincided with the signing of the Israel-PLO accord. Hopefully Islamabad will not let the "Middle East peace model" be followed in South Asia. If Yasir 'Arafat has been and be content with what his critics have cynically described as becoming the 'Mayor of Gaza', there is all the more reason for Islamabad to guard against moves to legitimise New Delhi's aggression in Kashmir and turn Pakistan into an Indian satellite. What needs to be clearly brought home to the Americans is that Kashmiris are not alone in their struggle for self-determination and Pakistan, by no means in as desperate a situation as the Arabs, has an obligation to support the Kashmir cause.

Arab Expatriation Review To Be Case-by-Case

*BK2109155193 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
21 Sep 93 p 9*

[Text] Peshawar: The federal government has agreed in principle to review the cases of expatriates, particularly those belonging in Egypt, Algiers and Tunisia, working for foreign relief agencies in the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] and decide the matter on case to case basis.

The decision was taken during caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi's recent visit to Peshawar, following a briefing by high government officials in this regard.

Official sources said the Premier had agreed to reconsider the government's previous orders, asking foreign relief agencies to terminate the services of Egyptian, Algerian and Tunisian nationals, besides cutting down the total strength of their staff by 50 per cent.

The Afghan Refugees Commissionerate, monitoring the activities of the foreign relief agencies, had through its orders on August 26 asked expatriates of the three nationalities to leave Pakistan within three months, informing that the visas and residential permits of such people would not be extended further. Many Arab relief agencies, considered the orders a pretext to forcing them to permanently close down their offices here and terminate their services for over a million Afghan refugees still in NWFP.

The Prime Minister, a highly placed government official said, while agreeing to the arguments put forward by the provincial Home Department had commented that the matter concerning Egyptian, Algerian and Tunisians be considered on case to case basis and all should not be treated on the same yard stick. "We are awaiting from the federal ministry of interior in the next few days", informed the official.

Arab sources in Peshawar felt the government's previous orders if implemented would have rendered more than 200 Egyptian professionals working for various expatriate Islamic relief agencies jobless, beside bringing to an end all million dollars worth relief and welfare operations carried out by the agencies in NWFP alone.

Seventy per cent of the professional staff, said an official of one of the Islamic NGOs, belonged either to Egypt, Algeria and Tunis. "Their termination would have meant closing down the offices", he remarked.

An Afghan head of a relief NGO, employing more than 60 Egyptians, said a delegation of Islamic relief agencies took up the matter with the visiting UNHCR chief Mrs Sadako Ogata, who, the sources informed later, discussed it with the Home Secretary government of NWFP, Rustam Shah Mohmand.

Terning the previous government orders wrong, sources maintained, the orders were in contravention of Pakistan's commitment with the Afghan government to help rebuild the war ravaged Afghanistan.

"How could Pakistan along help reconstruct 19,000 out of the 22,000 villages completely destroyed during the 14-year old Afghan war", asked an official. The closing down of foreign relief agencies, he argued, would have even impeded the repatriation of Afghan refugees to their homeland. "If we were to push the NGOs out of Pakistan, they would go to Bosnia or Somalia, instead of operating in relative insecurity of Afghanistan strewn with millions of land mines" he remarked.

Prompted by this decision perhaps, the government has also allowed five foreign relief agencies to continue working in Pakistan. These were among the 11 other NGOs ordered to pack up and leave the country within three months.

Commenting on reports that some employees working for the Islamic NGOs were in the wanted list of the Egyptian government, the government official said the Egyptian teams, which visited Pakistan in the last few months, had failed to pinpoint a single person wanted by their government.

"We had asked them to point one person and we would take action against him within three days", he recalled, adding about 550 arabs had left either of their own accord or expelled by the government since the crackdown in April last. "Its an ongoing process", he said.

Regional Affairs

Relations With Central Asian States Examined

93LA0169A Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 12 Jul 93 p 6

[Article by Amer Farooq: "Central Asian Countries and Pakistan"]

[Text] Decades earlier, Iqbal [the national poet of Pakistan] exhorted Muslims to unite, from the banks of the Nile to the land of Kashghar, and guard their sacred shrine. We saw Iqbal's vision take concrete shape when, following the collapse of communism, Central Asia split into six different states. After the First World War, the Soviet Union forced these countries into slavery; however, when the iron grip of the Soviet Union was broken, freedom movements started in Central Asia and it became divided into six states, namely, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan etc. For centuries, Central Asia has been the cradle of Islamic culture and traditions and was ruled by Muslims for a long time. The Moghuls who came to the subcontinent were from Central Asia, and for centuries close relations existed between Central Asia and the subcontinent of India and Pakistan. It was only during the 73 years of communist rule that we could not pay full attention to Central Asia, and there were several reasons for this. The cold war between the U.S. and Soviet Union (Pakistan was on the U.S. side) was the main obstacle preventing us from establishing close relations with Central Asia. Now that communism has ended and several Muslim states have come into existence in Central Asia, Pakistan should restore the close brotherly relations of the past. Such a relationship will not only benefit us politically, but these countries will also be helpful in solving Pakistan's economic problems.

After freedom, these Central Asian states looked with hope toward Muslim countries, especially Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey, because all three countries previously had close relations with Central Asia. Unfortunately, no Muslim country has extended a helpful hand with true Islamic spirit toward these Central Asian countries, with the result that Israel and some other forces inimical to Muslims have tried to take full advantage of the situation. India and Israel have not only established diplomatic relations with these Central Asian states but have also negotiated many economic and political agreements with them. What should have been done in regard to these countries is that soon after their freedom, Muslim countries should have come to their aid and sought cooperation with them in every way and thus made these countries feel that they were not alone in the world. The writer's personal view is that none of the three countries, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey, have taken any effective steps to establish close cooperation with Central Asian states. As one looks at the history and geography of these states, it becomes obvious that they have no other choice than to cooperate closely with Pakistan, Iran, and

Turkey, because only these three countries offer the Central Asian states access to warm water ports and contact with advanced Western countries. As for the Central Asians reestablishing close relations with their former rulers, it does not appear possible that they would turn toward those countries from whom they have recently freed themselves; and even if Central Asian countries should wish to reestablish close relations with their former rulers, the relationship will not be based on equality. The Central Asian states have one other choice; instead [of Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey], they could choose a route through Russia, but that course does not appear feasible politically; moreover, the Central Asian states would have to traverse a large distance to reach a Russian port which is in one of the coldest areas of the world and not open to navigation during the winter months.

For the moment, it appears that Russia is no longer a superpower; however, one should remember that Russia still possesses the largest number of nuclear weapons and the largest air force. The most important problem facing Russia today is to halt the decline in its economy. The U.S. and European countries are giving Russia as much help as possible. As soon as Russia is able to uplift its economy, it will use its nuclear armaments and large air force to regain its power. The Central Asian states are always faced with the danger that they will again be enslaved (God forbid). (The communist government's return to power in Tajikistan is the first danger signal.) Under such critical circumstances, it is the duty of Muslim countries, especially Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey, to help Central Asian Muslims in every way possible. Pakistan, in particular, bears a heavy responsibility in this regard. Iran may not be readily acceptable to Central Asian states because of its religious fundamentalism (in Western eyes, Iran is a fundamentalist state). We will have to proceed with extraordinary caution in establishing close relations with Central Asia's Muslim states and only gradually lead them towards religion.

Muslim countries will have to formulate long-term as well as short-term policies in establishing relations with Central Asian countries. Pakistan will have to make quick changes in its foreign policy, and instead of approaching Central Asia alone, we should establish close relations with those countries through the ICO [Islamic Conference Organization]; this would help dispel any misunderstandings with Iran. Moreover, before establishing close ties with this area, we should remove any misgivings our close friend China may have; the best course for Pakistan is to establish access to Central Asia through the ICO. Pakistan should also remember that, unlike Iran and Turkey, we do not have any direct connection with Central Asia; our strongest link to that area is through religion. If Pakistan wants to promote its influence in Central Asia, it should develop a long-term policy in addition to its short-term policy and thus assure the success of its efforts.

A conference of the foreign ministers of ICO countries was recently held in Pakistan and included Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan; for the first time, all six countries of Central Asia participated as well. This was also the first time that all six countries had taken part in an international conference, and such participation will help to promote

harmony and closeness among these countries. The Central Asian countries were enslaved for a long time by the same country, namely, the Soviet Union; hence, their problems are similar in nature. The gathering together of these countries helps to promote closer ties among them. The ICO conference held in Turkey on 6 July 1993 provided ICO countries with a rare opportunity for closer cooperation. History shows that no country can live in isolation, and in these times, cooperation has become even more important. The absence of any effective UN role has enhanced the importance of regional organizations. In the Gulf War, even such a powerful and progressive country as the U.S. conducted the war with the help of allies. The changing world situation has made the role of regional organizations even more important than before.

It is therefore incumbent on Pakistan to safeguard its (military and political) security by establishing close relations with Central Asian states. The present political situation in the world is a warning to Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, and Central Asian countries that if they want to survive, they should unite. If such unity is achieved, the Muslim nation will have both wealth and a powerful resolve; the only things lacking are knowledge of modern technology and unity. The countries of Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan, can remedy this shortcoming. Central Asian states may not be ahead economically, but technologically they are as advanced as any other country, in particular Kazakhstan, which could be called a nuclear power.

To achieve the above aims, Pakistan will have to repeat the role it played during the Afghan jihad to stop foreign invaders. Undoubtedly, Pakistan is fully capable of playing this role, but before attempting to achieve such a major objective we will first have to end the state of uncertainty within the country. The writer is of the view that an elected democratic government should be given the opportunity and receive full cooperation in meeting its critical international responsibilities.

The 6 July the ICO conference made important decisions before it ended in Ankara. Among other matters, the conference approved the establishment of a bank for ICO member countries and emphasized the need for greater political and economic cooperation among the member countries.

Ex-ISI Director Outlines 'Kashmiri Jihad' Strategy
93AS0170A Lahore ZINDAGI in Urdu 24 Jul 93 pp 35-39

[Excerpts from Speech by Hamid Gul]

[Excerpts] My topic today is also Kashmir, or to say it better, "Kashmir Today and Yesterday." My talk on this subject will be analytical in nature. It would be better if, instead of saying today and yesterday, I could say today and tomorrow. The Kashmir of yesterday is in front of us. What happened is part of history, and we have to learn from it. As for the Kashmir of today, we have to look within its framework as to what the Kashmir of tomorrow will be. This subject is very important for us. I want to tell you what we will do in the future. According to my humble opinion, it is important to explain the background of this campaign, so

that we can come to the right conclusion when we analyze this. Where there were flaws, we must find appropriate rectification and form a new, clear, and firm strategy. The history of Kashmir's campaign for freedom is not very old. Actually, one part of this campaign started in 1931. However, the campaign that started recently, and which is still in full swing, started in January 1990. If we go back even a little further, then it would be July 1989 when the feelings emerged that started this campaign. The clear image of this campaign emerged before us in January and February of 1990. We should think of what the situation was at that time. [passage omitted]

U. S. Pressure

U. S. pressure increased so much that Pakistan finally had to stand in a corner. We were told that we would be declared a terrorist nation. In my opinion, this threat would never be implemented. A minor but very clear reason for this is that according to the new world order, under which all this is being done, it is nothing but a dream. It will take a long time for this to become a reality. Perhaps it will never be a reality. I can say with full confidence that it will never be realized, because, as the only superpower, the United States has a moral responsibility which it has totally failed to meet. If there is no moral responsibility, then one cannot make progress. I would say about the question of the Kashmir campaign and terrorism that they do not have the money to implement the new world order. The United States is the most indebted nation in the world. It has a debt of four trillion dollars, or 4,000 billion dollars. Even its budget today is a deficit budget. Its deficit is \$450 billion. A country which is facing such a serious economic crisis, in spite of the fact that its population—only five percent of the total world population—is using 30 percent of the world's resources, is facing a deteriorating economic situation. Therefore, it cannot cope with its status as a superpower. It just does not have the capability.

If it wants to continue with the new world order and implement it on the world, then it will try to divide the world up through various freedom campaigns. Therefore, if a valid and appropriate campaign for independence is called a terrorist action, then no campaign for independence in the world can be successful. Thus, the U. S. goal would die its own death. This is a question we have not yet asked it. In my opinion, we should ask the United States this question: "We believe you are bent upon declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation. Would you call the Kashmir campaign for independence a terrorist campaign?" We have not asked this even today. I am sure that when we tell the United States that it is not a terrorist action, it is a campaign for independence, and it must first declare it a terrorist activity, then we shall talk with you. Later, we shall ask it to tell us if we are also terrorists, because we are supporting this campaign. I do not think that the United States can call it a terrorist action at all. Therefore, the fear being forced on us requires that we think about it with a cool head whether this is impossible. It appears that the international news media is leaning toward

this stand. The media does not consider the Indian army's actions to be appropriate in the context of this freedom campaign and human rights.

Against the background of regional politics, we can see that when India changed camps, getting out of the Russian camp and joining the American camp, the United States considered India a great prize. It thought it was a thirsty golden sparrow, which could be used against the possible alliance between China and Japan. However, the United States did not have the experience of dealing with India, and it soon learned that it could not stop the Hindus from violating human rights, even after providing it with dreams of economic prosperity and special amenities in nuclear areas. The new U. S. administration has learned that India needs to be suppressed, especially in the context of human rights. [passage omitted]

Finally, here is a suggestion for Kashmir's prime minister. He has also hinted that world opinion has changed somewhat. After Bosnia, if they continue to ignore Kashmir, then their position in international affairs will slowly be weakened, and even totally obliterated. Therefore, just for showing the international news media began to rebuke India to the point of ridicule. We should take advantage of this opportunity. We should call an international convention of the news media. We should also invite selected people from India. We can invite people from Pakistan, the United States, England, and Japan, and ask that human rights be organized properly. I believe that if we do not let any time pass, then, God willing, we shall be greatly successful.

As for the time, I think that India wants to take this action in September, 1993. The governor's rule will be 3-1/2 years old in September, and according to the Indian constitution, a governor's rule cannot last more than 3-1/2 years, unless the Constitution is amended. I do not know how it will deal in Kashmir under Article 370. However, it appears that it wants to crush the Kashmir campaign before September. Therefore, it should be our desire and effort to take all steps at all costs and in all possible ways to make sure that India fails totally in its effort to crush Kashmir's campaign for freedom. Instead, the campaign for freedom could be strengthened. We should look at world affairs in this new development. The situation is Russia has started to change rapidly. More than 13,000 nuclear weapons are present there. The situation in Europe, because of Bosnia, is becoming more and more serious. If we somehow manage to pass this year, then we shall see Russia emerge as a superpower on the world map. If this happens, then the United States will be worried, and the protection we wanted from it will be given to us. It will need us, and it will be forced to give us special support. I am summarizing my proposal below.

- Political alliance is important for the success of jihad. There is a goal of political alliance there. We can call this the Council for Kashmir's independence.

- A jihad council should be established. The people who want to expel India from Kashmir should agree over a point in agenda. This point should be "Quit Kashmir."

- Keep an eye on the economic situation, and provide Kashmir with two billion rupees in annual aid.

- Feelings should be awakened and kept strong. We must provide spiritual and moral support for the campaign.

- We should take advantage of the time between now and September and not allow India to be successful at any cost.

I am sure that the situation in the world will change, and God willing, the campaign for Kashmir's independence will reach its decisive stage.

'Union' With Bangladesh Said Possible

93LA0171C Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 29 Jul 93
(Supplement) p II

[Editorial: "East and West Pakistan Unity"]

[Text] Mr. Mehmood Ali, chairman of the National Council of Social Welfare and leader of Tehrik-i Takmil Pakistan, said that the route to uniting East and West Pakistan is a long one; however, there are indications that it will be successful. After a long time, the people of Pakistan are learning that there is a person in this country that is active in getting East and West Pakistan united. No one has learned a lesson from the fall of Dhaka, nor did anyone think it necessary to join this large state which is full of resources with Pakistan. It is strange that Muslim governments and countries usually sit silent after losing something while the foreigners fight for years for even an inch of land. The Arabs ruled Spain for many centuries. But after the fall of Spain they never united to get this Islamic country back. Similarly, the Pakistani people have forgotten their fellow citizens in East Bengal, as if we never had any relations with them. We cannot agree with Mr. Mehmood Ali's point that the path to East and West Pakistani unity is a long one. The Muslims of Bangladesh now understand everything. They also know that they are forced to lead lives of limited freedom after this separation, and that the vision of "golden Bangla" has faded. Mehmood Ali should tell us how many leaders he has succeeded in making agree with him in West Pakistan. How much work has he done to encourage the people of this region to work for it?

India spreads a network of conspiracies to spread political and economic instability in Pakistan, so that a well organized and prosperous Pakistan does not think about getting Muslim Bengal again. India is succeeding in its mission; however, we have forgotten East Pakistan and are thinking about a new Pakistan. Germany could not forget East Germany, and Hanoi never let South Vietnam disappear from its iron memory. The people of North and South Yemen were unhappy without each other, and, after many years of effort, they have united. Pakistan, however, has taken no steps to reattach its eastern arm to its body. Such helplessness is deplorable. What is needed is that we start a very sincere effort to join a Muslim Bengal with Islamabad, and the people of Bangla should be asked to join it. If work is done concretely along these lines, then sooner or later, the Pakistan established by Quaid-i Azam will be joined again.

Kashmiri 'Armed Freedom Struggle' Seen Heading for Victory*93LA0211F Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 8 Aug 93 p 6*

[Article by Amanullah Khan: "Five Years of Kashmiris' Armed Freedom Struggle"]

[Text] July 31, 1993 marks the completion of 5 years of the present phase of Kashmiris' armed freedom struggle. It was started by Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) on July 31, 1988. Let us have a glance on the background, important events and the achievements so far of the struggle.

The residents of what are now Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan had liberated these areas of Jammu Kashmir State in 1947-48 through 15 months long armed freedom struggle against the combined might of Dogra regime of the State and Indian forces of occupation. After cease-fire on January 1, 1949 arranged by the United Nations on the pledge, given by the UN, India and Pakistan, that Kashmiris would be given the right to determine the future of the whole state through a plebiscite to be held under UN auspices, the UN started discussing with India and Pakistan the modalities of the pledged plebiscite. India, which was in possession of about two-thirds of state's territory and population, kept on dilly-dallying implementation of plebiscite plan for about a decade and after 1957 started refusing to allow the plebiscite to be held claiming that Kashmir was her integral and constitutional part. India also got two UN Security Council resolutions providing for right of self-determination to Kashmiris vetoed by the then Soviet Union. The 1965 war on Kashmir between India and Pakistan also failed to solve the issue.

India's refusal to honour her nationally and internationally made pledges to concede right of self-determination to Kashmiris and the lessons of 1947-48 feat prompted patriotic Kashmiris to re-start armed freedom struggle. In 1965 some senior members of Jammu Kashmir Plebiscite Front (of Azad Kashmir) namely Maqbool Ahmad Butt, G. M. Lone, Mir Abdul Qayum and myself formed an underground organisation Jammu Kashmir National Liberation Front (NLF) with the help of Major Amanullah, a retired officer of Azad Kashmir Regular Forces who, as an officer of INA [Indian National Army], had received training in guerrilla warfare in Japan during World War II and had also played an important role in 1947-48 freedom struggle. It may be recalled that some senior officers of Indian army led by Subhash Chandra Bose had formed a rebel force called Indian National Army (INA) during the war to oust the British from the subcontinent with the help of Japanese. The NLF aimed at starting armed struggle for complete independence of the whole state.

Cutting the long story of NLF's attempts to start armed freedom struggle short, as that story is outside the scope of this article, suffice it to say that NLF tried its best to start a concerted armed freedom struggle but did not achieve much success and in the process Maqbool Ahmad Butt lost his life being sent to gallows by Indian government in Tihar Jail New Delhi on February 11, 1984 after keeping him in prison

for over a decade. Nevertheless the NLF spirit is the main force behind the present phase of armed struggle.

In 1976 I went to England and formed Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) there in 1977. It immediately started projecting Kashmir issue on international level in its true perspective exposing India's white lies and baseless claims about Kashmir. I was deported by the British government in December 1986 after keeping me in prison for over 15 months and despite my acquittal by the court. This was done by the British government to oblige India in order to persuade her to purchase British products which India did immediately after the British government deported me to Pakistan.

Finding the circumstances favourable to starting armed freedom struggle in Indian occupied Kashmir, we (JKLF) started working on it in early 1987 under top secrecy. The youth in Indian-held Kashmir were badly frustrated by traditional politics hence responded to our call readily. We brought young political activists to Azad Kashmir, indoctrinated them, trained them in armed freedom struggle and sent them back to Indian-held Kashmir. All this was done in extreme secrecy with the result that India had no clue about it. By the middle of 1988 hundreds had received training and had returned to the Valley fully equipped. Towards the end of 1987 I put my own life in danger for about a week in order to discuss the matter with some co-thinkers from Srinagar.

The ball of the armed freedom struggle was set rolling on July 31, 1988 when three bombs exploded in Srinagar one each in Amar Singh Club, India Coffee House and Central Telegraph office. There was no casualty as it was not intended. We just wanted to unseat and confuse the authorities and boost the morale of the subjugated people. It was quite some time before actual clashes between JKLF freedom fighters and Indian para-military forces started. We made it a point not to clash with regular Indian army before we were in due force and adequately equipped with effective arms. Our first casualty was one of our senior commanders Eajaz Ahmad Dar who was killed on September 18, 1988. As such Eajaz is the first martyr of the present phase of our armed freedom struggle.

With the passage of time India intensified its brutalities against Kashmiris, both armed youth and unarmed civilians. During the last five years, Indian forces of occupation deployed in Kashmir, numbering over 500,000, have killed over 35,000 Kashmiris, men, women and children; raped and gangraped thousands of Kashmiri women of 11 to 80 years of age; set ablaze thousands of residential houses and business premises; tortured to death or shot dead thousands of Kashmiri youth in interrogation camps and kept tens of thousands of Kashmiris behind the bars without trial and the process continues unabated. During recent weeks Indians have intensified their savagery killing 20 persons a day on average. Besides their own brutal methods, Indians are now using Israeli recipes to annihilate the leadership of militant organisations. Following are a few instances that can give an idea of the nature and gravity of Indian savagery in Kashmir.

On January 21, 1990, Indian forces opened fire on a big rally in Srinagar without any provocation killing about 250 people and injuring many more. On April 3, 1990 Indians imposed 24-hour curfew on Srinagar and other main towns of Kashmir which continued for 15 days without any break. On May 21, 1990 Indian army opened fire on the mourners of Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq, an important religious-cum-political leader who had been killed that morning. Over 150 people were killed and many more injured. In September 1990, over 150 residential houses in Kawdara area of Srinagar were burnt to ground. Many people were burnt alive. In October 1990, the entire town of Handawara was set on fire and destroyed. On February 23, 1991 over 800 soldiers and officers of Rajput Rifles encircled a village Konon-Poshpora, in Kupware district at midnight, took all men away for an 'identification parade' and as many as 52 women were gangraped. Such is the savagery and moral bankruptcy of Indian armed forces that a marriage party was stopped on the road (at Hiller-Aarhama in Anantnag) and after firing on them injuring many including the bridegrooms, they dragged the bride to a nearby field and gangraped her. After he was freed almost half-conscious, the Indian savages left the place shouting "We were just testing her virginity." Again in the month of November 1991, the forces set the entire town of Islamabad (Anantnag) ablaze in which over 500 residential houses and many more shops were dashed to the ground leaving the people homeless in the forthcoming chilly winter. On July 13, 1992, Indian armed forces opened fire on a rally that was being held to commemorate the incidents of 13, July 1931 many people were killed. On January 6, 1993 the entire Sopore Town was literally turned into a living hell, when over 260 houses were burnt to ground, killing over a hundred people as well. In April 1993, hundreds of houses and shops in Lal Chowk Srinagar were burnt and many people killed. These are only a few of dozens of such instances of the savagery of Indian forces of occupation in Kashmir.

Indian government has been refusing to allow international organisations of human rights to monitor the state of affairs prevailing in Kashmir. Indian emissaries and diplomats have been making baseless claims and telling white lies abroad to mislead the world about the constitutional status of Kashmir and the real nature of Kashmiris struggle. They have been claiming of Kashmir to be India's integral and constitutional part, dubbing Kashmiris' fully justified freedom struggle as a secessionist movement and Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists. Indian governor of Kashmir Mr. Jag-Mohan got Kashmiri Pundits (Hindus) out of Kashmir to mislead the world giving the impression that Kashmiri freedom struggle was Islamic fundamentalism-oriented and that the life of these Hindus was in danger. Nothing could be farther from the truth. This conspiracy on the part of the State governor was exposed by about a dozen Kashmiri Pundit intellectuals in a letter published in a daily's newspaper on October 20, 1990.

On the other hand the people of Kashmir Valley in general and the armed youth in particular have been establishing unique examples of top class patriotism, courage and sense of sacrifice. They have been braving all sorts of onslaughts from Indian armed forces with utmost courage and bravery.

They have also got many of their senior colleagues released in exchange for the high-ranking civil and military officers arrested by them. The people have been staging protest marches in hundreds of thousands. According to world media, over half a million people participated in the protest march in Srinagar on February 23, 1990. Besides armed youth, old folk, women and even children have been taking full part in the freedom struggle. It is estimated that only about one fourth of over 35,000 Kashmiris killed so far were armed freedom fighters.

Let us now assess and analyse the results and achievements of this five-year long freedom struggle. Following are the clear results so far: -

1. This armed freedom struggle has injected a new life to Kashmir issue and to Kashmiris' freedom struggle which were almost dead before it started.
2. Indian claim of Kashmir being her integral part is fast getting evaporated into the air and the world has re-started treating Kashmir as a territory whose constitutional status is yet to be determined by its people.
3. The world has also re-started recognising Kashmiris' right of self-determination. Even the United States has made it clear that no solution of Kashmir issue, not based on Kashmiri peoples free will, can be taken as a just or final one.
4. The erstwhile stories, most of them concocted though, about the 'cowardice' of the people of Kashmir Valley have vanished and everybody now recognises that Kashmiris are exceptionally brave and courageous people.
5. Kashmiris have made India incur an additional expenditure of over one hundred billion rupees during the last five-years besides thousands of its soldiers and officers having been killed.
6. India's erstwhile high international image has been badly affected due to her most inhuman treatment to Kashmiris.
7. The attempts made under JKLFs auspices by tens of thousands of people on February 11-12 and March 30, 1992 to cross the cease-fire-line unarmed, though foiled by Pakistani authorities, resulted in world-wide publicity of Kashmir issue and Kashmiris' freedom movement, boosted morale of the people and freedom fighters in Indian occupied Kashmir and injected a new spirit of solidarity with each other between Kashmiris on two sides of the cease-fire-line.
8. Although diplomatic traditions and etiquettes have kept the governments of different countries from condemning Indian attitude towards Kashmir publicly, many of them are pressurising India to stop genocide of Kashmiris and concede to them their inherent, pledged and fully deserved right of self-determination.
9. The armed freedom struggle and the sacrifices offered have injected enormous strength to Kashmiris' feelings of national identity.
10. Many Indian intellectuals and human rights activists have started thinking and even saying and writing that

instead of incurring so much additional expenditure on Kashmir and getting thousands of its own soldiers killed and instead of getting her international image tarnished, it is better for India to part with Kashmir and hand it over to its real masters, the Kashmiris. What is all the more important, the number of people of this thinking is fast increasing although the government of India is yet to share this thinking due to its colonialist mentality and religious prejudice towards Muslims who form over-whelming majority of Kashmiri people.

In the light of the nature and importance of these achievements of Kashmiris' five year long armed freedom struggle, one can say without hesitation that these achievements are due reward for their exemplary sacrifices and if Kashmiris continue these sacrifices with the same sense of duty and better efforts are made to obtain support of international public opinion to their just cause, the sacred goal of Kashmiris' national emancipation is not far away.

Hamid Gul's Call for Jihad in Kashmir Criticized

93LA0225G Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English
13 Aug 93 p 8

[Article by Ejaz Haider: "The Only Realistic Option"]

[Text] A few weeks ago, Gen. (Retd) Hamid Gul spoke at a gathering in Rawalakot (AJK), where he outlined his strategy for the Kashmiri jihad. Opening his argument on an emotive note, he dashed to January '90, the beginning of the Kashmiri intifada, without rehearsing the historical background of the conflict, which most of us would agree is imperative for any objective appraisal of the conflict; more so, if one is attempting a strategic appreciation for a likely military putsch.

There is much in his speech (reported in weekly ZINDAGI, July 30) which begs an answer. Normally, when a general chooses to speak about a conflict, which has triggered at least two wars, one expects some degree of objectivity in his analysis. Unfortunately, Gen. Gul's speech does not fall in that category.

He begins by giving a broad brush to the region in the period between 1990-92 which he thinks was a time to rejoice; the Soviets had withdrawn from Afghanistan and Pakistan had emerged victorious (however, he chooses not to mention either the mujahideen's inability to oust Najibullah, or the debacle of Jalalabad); America had not as yet ditched Pakistan and the nation was imbued with a new found self-confidence. At about the same time, the Pakistan Army was carrying out its biggest ever, and most ambitious, military exercise, Zarb-e Momin, testing out, on the ground, the doctrine of Strategic Defiance. The exercise ended in December '89, about a month before the uprising in Kashmir.

The first year of the struggle was good but then, through a combination of external and internal pressures, the spirit started waning. In the backdrop of the 'annexationist' approach to the disputed territory forfeits its locus disintegration of the USSR which finished off the bipolar system, Gen. Gul points out the American role in trying to curb the rise of Muslims throughout the world and cites the cases of Afghanistan, Iraq and Algeria. He mentions the fact that

despite FIS's [Islamic Salvation Front] overwhelming victory in Algeria, Washington supported the secular government to impose martial law, a blatant violation of its avowed principles of democracy and human rights. In the Gulf conflict, he mentions the unpopularity of the official policy line taken by most Muslim countries. Neither does he forgive Saddam Hussain, albeit not for his (Saddam's) aggression against Kuwait, but for not giving a good fight to the Yanks!

As things stand, he feels that the US is discriminating against the Muslims and especially, because of Indo-Zionist machinations, the Kashmiris, who it now arbitrarily brands as terrorists. In the context of Indo-Zionist detente, he stresses the exigency of studying and analysing in detail, the phenomenon to counter this joint threat to the Kashmiri uprising and the integrity of Pakistan.

Thereafter, Gen. Gul discusses the Kashmiri's struggle for three dimensions: political, military and economic. Of the three dimensions, it is the military dimension which intrigued this writer the most. But let's first try to sum up Gen. Gul's world view. Throughout the Muslim world, good Muslims are standing up for their rights against the unscrupulous governments propped up by America. The non-Muslims are panicking because of this phenomenon and there is consensus among them on the imperative of suppressing these movements. Close to home, Kashmir is Pakistan's *raison d'être* and any Pakistani government which attempts to compromise on standi. In this world view, based as it is on a concept of a larger Islamic bloc, there is no room for linguistic, tribal, ethnic or cultural differences. Therefore, those Kashmiris who want to attain independence, are an aberration and cannot, in the larger interests of the ummah, be accommodated.

The only destiny of Kashmir, because of its contiguity with Pakistan, is to be a part of Pakistan. But the bottomline to this thinking of a grand Islamic bloc, which foresees an Armageddon between the believers and the non-believers, that those who dare to dissent are either bad Muslims, or worse still, not Muslims at all, and therefore should be eliminated. Consequently, if Kashmir could ever be wrested away from India, there is the likelihood of the Pakistan army capturing, torturing and killing the 'secessionists'.

Gen. Gul points out the ratio of one soldier to every eight civilians in the valley and rightly calls it incredible. This, he feels, makes things really hot for the freedom fighters. He also points out the danger of the Kashmiris running out of stamina, and stresses the importance of keeping the pot boiling. However, he does not elaborate upon his statement. Near the end of his talk he mentions that even if Pakistan does not decide to go to war with India, New Delhi should not assume (or ever get this impression) that we will not fight with them on the issue of Kashmir. But he adds that Kashmir has been a *casus belli* in the past and we have fought two wars on the issue; considering that India is [presently] in no position to initiate hostilities, it should fear Pakistan's commitment to Kashmir.

In the end, he sums up his talk by asserting that Pakistan has to ensure that the insurgency is kept alive till at least September next year by which time, and he does seem to believe this, Russia will once again emerge as a superpower to counter the American New World Order. "Once that happens, the US will face new difficulties and will be compelled to give us (Pakistan) the projection we require. They (the Americans) will need us and will be constrained to give us concessions."

This kind of talk is simply incredible. What exactly does the general mean by 'concessions'? Do 'concessions' refer to an American initiative, in the face of another one-night stand with Pakistan, to pressurise New Delhi into handing over Kashmir to Islamabad? And if the US does indeed side with Pakistan, in the near future as the general predicts, will it actually despatch marines to fight against the Indian army, or merely repeat the dismal performance of a Sandys-Harriman mission? The general is silent on this. But this is not the only anomaly. On the one hand, it was a great triumph for the ISI [Inter Services Intelligence]-Afghan Mujahideen combine to humiliate the Soviets in Afghanistan—the Jama'at says the Soviet empire crumbled under the weight of Afghan misadventure—while on the other, the general is counting on the re-emergence of Russia as a superpower to get the Americans to liberate Kashmir for Pakistan. The problem with Gen. Gul is that like so many others in the Third World, he refuses to outgrow the Cold-war era when military elites in the Third World dictatorships used to play one superpower against another to legitimise their rule. The general cannot, despite earlier claiming kudos for ISI's successes against the USSR, comprehend the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a countervailing force. Neither does he explain how Russia will be able to emerge as a superpower.

As for his desire to keep the insurgency alive for some time to come, does he want the Government of Pakistan to arm and train the freedom fighters and provide them with bases on Pakistani soil? If for the sake of the argument, we do concede that the Government of Pakistan is prepared to do that, even if it means becoming an international pariah and/or inviting an Indian backlash, what exactly will masterminding such an operation entail? We have 1971 as a case in point. While the Indians were training and abetting the mukti bahini, they did not leave the insurgents at the mercy of the Pakistan Army. They let the pot boil—much before they actually moved in, there used to be artillery exchanges between the Indians and the Pakistani—for a while and then just before it was about to spill over, delivered the coup de grace, forcing the Pakistan Army to surrender. An insurgency, if it is not to become merely a diabetic case, cannot go on ad infinitum; there has to be an end to it. Is the Pakistan Army capable of delivering that final stroke which is the logical culmination, in military terms, of an insurgency of the type that the general wants to sustain?

The fact is that the Pakistan Army is incapable of doing that. There is enough historical evidence to prove it. In 1965, Bhutto read the signals wrongly and Ayub, who thought he was a fantastic soldier, was duped into believing that, (a) the

Pakistan army indeed had an edge over the Indian Army, a conclusion based on the faulty premise of the Indian withdrawal in Rann of Kutch; and (b) that the Indians' commitment to Kashmir was open-ended and therefore if Pakistan violated the LoC, the Indians would not relieve the pressure by launching an all-out offensive.

As it happened, both conclusions were wrong and while the Pakistan Army fought bravely, it could not achieve the strategic target it had set for itself. To that extent, it was a useless war. Also, a case can be made that it was the 1965 war that, in 1971, proved disastrous for Pakistan both politically and militarily. Consequently, while Pakistan must support the Kashmiri cause for self-determination, which is what it is, and not a territorial dispute between Pakistan and India, it would behoove Islamabad well to drop its annexationist stance. This is the only realistic option and the right course of action. Also, it is the only way in which it can bring enough pressure to bear on India to force her to concede the right of self-determination to the Kashmiris.

Kashmir Seen Non-Negotiable Issue for Nation

Soul of Nation

93WD0207A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 13 Aug 93 p 5

[Editorial: "Kashmir: Pakistan's Soul: Liberate it From the Enemy"]

[Text] The caretaker prime minister, Moeen Qureshi, said while addressing a group of Kashmiri refugees in Azad Kashmir, "Kashmir is the soul of Pakistan, and if our enemy takes our soul, then nothing is left. The Kashmiris are fighting a war to save Pakistan's existence. No power in the world can stop this movement. We pay our tribute to the Kashmiris, condemn the efforts to suppress the human rights of the Kashmiri people, and support their right to independence." The prime minister made it clear that it was his first visit to any part of Pakistan out of Islamabad since he took office. It is clear that his government is very interested in the Kashmir issue, and is very concerned about it. Mr. Qureshi raised his voice in support of the Kashmiris, and this is appropriate for Pakistan. However, during his trip to the United States of America, Mr. Qureshi hinted in regard to Kashmir that even though Pakistan emphasizes the UN resolutions on Kashmir, Pakistan would support it if the Kashmiris are willing to accept another solution. There were a lot of talks between the caretaker prime minister and national organizations about this. Former Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif also had expressed a desire to accept a third option in resolving the Kashmir issue; however, he had to take it back because of pressure from people. Various Pakistani governments have demonstrated inexcusable negligence and a cool attitude toward the Kashmir issue.

The former prime minister of Pakistan and founder of the PPP, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, was accused of pushing Kashmir into cold storage by signing the Shimla Agreement and providing India a permanent propaganda weapon. The situation in Kashmir is still the same. During 11 years of

martial law under Ziaul Haq, the Kashmir issue was never a government priority, and the government of Pakistan followed the Indian interpretation of the Shimla Agreement, remaining quiet on the Kashmir issue. The late Mohammed Khan Junejo was the first civilian prime minister to openly and loudly raise an international forum against the Kashmir problem, bringing the terrible situation of Kashmiri Muslims to the world's attention. During Benazir Bhutto's prime ministership, the Kashmiri Muslims started a campaign against Indian atrocities on their own. The worst thing is that at that time Benazir Bhutto undertook a special effort to establish "permanent a strong relations" with India. At that time she called Pakistan's foreign minister, Sahabzada Yakub, and Pakistan's ambassador to the Soviet Union, Abdul Sattar (present foreign minister), and sent them to New Delhi again and again. At that time, Kashmiri Muslims expressed opposition to Sahabzada's trips to Delhi and staged a strike in Srinagar.

But Madam Bhutto finally felt that she could not survive without Kashmiri support. Therefore, she addressed a public meeting in Azad Kashmir and raised the slogan of independence for Kashmir. Even though Pakistan has left no stone unturned in verbal support for the Kashmiri cause, we have not helped the Kashmiris in practice. As a result, the freedom fighters are under heavy pressure, and the freedom fighters and Kashmiri citizens are suffering from heavy life and property casualties. India has sent more troops to the valley to crush the Kashmiri Muslims. No foreign agency or tourist is permitted to enter Kashmir, and no international news media or human rights agencies are allowed there. India has surrounded Kashmiris and has started the massacre of Kashmiris behind an iron curtain. Kashmiri Muslim women are mass raped, and the savage Indian armed forces have broken all boundaries of humanity in their efforts of genocide of Kashmiris. Pakistan is the only supporter of Kashmir that supports the resolutions passed by the UN and its formula for independence. If Pakistan wants to do anything for Kashmir, India, Israel, and the United States start making noises about declaring Pakistan a terrorist nation.

Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir. Quaid-i Azam declared Kashmir the nation's economic artery, and it still has that position, even now. Water for hydroelectricity, which is important for Pakistan's industrial and agricultural economy, comes from Kashmir, and Pakistan's geographic defense is also helped by Kashmir. All this demonstrates that Kashmir is part of Pakistan. As for India, its border only goes from Mangla to the G. T. Road. This makes Pakistan's communications artery a victim of India's cannons and machine guns. Pakistan is incomplete without Kashmir. The Pakistani government should respect the wishes of the people. The ignoramuses in Pakistan's Foreign Ministry should also recognize their responsibility and the desires of the people and try not to scare everyone with each new Kashmir problem. The fact is that Kashmir is part of Pakistan, and it was part of the agenda of the partition of India. India has taken it over. The Kashmiri people should have the right to a plebiscite according to the UN resolution,

so that they can give their decision to join Pakistan. A resolution of the Kashmir issue is important for establishing peace in the subcontinent.

U.S. Policy Unhelpful

93LA0207B Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 7 Aug 93 p 10

[Editorial: "American Policy Towards the Kashmir Issue"]

[Text] According to a USIS report, the Clinton administration has stated in its new policy report on South Asia that the Kashmir issue has become very complicated now, that it is important to create an agreement between both parties, and that this issue should be resolved according to the Shimla Agreement. The American viewpoint on Kashmir changes very rapidly; however, this fact gives us the satisfaction that the United States considers Kashmir a complicated issue and, unlike India, does not consider it an integral part of India or a resolved issue. The United States was involved in the UN resolutions which said that the people of Kashmir will have the right to a plebiscite, and that they have the right to join either Pakistan or India. There is a powerful campaign for independence raging in Kashmir now, and India is using atrocious and inhuman methods to crush it. The present report of the Clinton administration also expresses concern over the human rights problems in Kashmir. However, the United States has not expressed any desire to stop the Indian atrocities. The situation at present is that India kills 40-50 innocent Kashmiri youths daily, and it wants to crush the freedom fighters totally during the next two to three months. Meanwhile, it is continually accusing Pakistan of helping Kashmiri freedom fighters, and in order to teach a lesson to Pakistan, India is fully prepared for war. On the Line of Control that divides Azad Kashmir from occupied Kashmir, there are incidents of daily skirmishes, which could turn into war at any time. This way, Pakistan and India are on the brink of war again. Since both countries have nuclear capabilities, we cannot say how frightful this war will be. In this situation it is the duty of the United States, as the world's only superpower, to try to stop this war and to pressure India to give Kashmiris the right to express their opinions, as it promised them. If the United States does not do its duty, South Asia will burn because of India's stubbornness, and a war dreadful enough to burn all U.S. interests will begin in this region.

Hezbul Muhajideen Commander Seeks Help for Kashmir Jihad

93LA0225H Peshawar THE FRONTIER POST in English 19 Aug 93 p 5

[Text] Hyderabad—Commander of the militant organisation fighting in Kashmir Hazbul Muhajideen, Ghulam Muhammad Safi, has said that jihad was the only solution to the Kashmir issue and it was the struggle of Kashmiris which has compelled America to call Kashmir as a disputed territory.

Ghulam Muhammad Safi is currently on a visit to Pakistan to apprise the Pakistani youths specially the students about Kashmiri struggle and situation in the disputed territory. In a 'meet the press' programme at Hyderabad Press Club on

Monday Ghulam Muhammad Safi, while tracing out the history of the Kashmir struggle, said that the four year long armed struggle of mujahideen in Kashmir has created a lot of problems for Indian army which has completely failed in suppressing the struggle through atrocities and some times by offering incentives.

Safi deplored political crisis in Pakistan saying that it was also affecting the freedom struggle of Kashmiri people. He claimed that the entire Muslim Ummah was involved in Kashmiri jihad and mujahideen of different countries have been martyred in the held valley. He further informed that many mujahideen, who fought in Afghanistan for 14 years, were ready to join the jihad in Kashmir but due to foreign pressure they were stopped from participating in the jihad.

Answering a question, he said that the Indian Muslims had realised that Kashmiri struggle was in right direction following the demolition of Babri Mosque, but they still avoided to support the Kashmiri mujahideen openly.

India Said New Spy Base for Israeli Operations

93LA0226A Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
5 Sep 93 p 6

[Article by Qutubuddin Aziz: "Israel Making India Spy Base for Subcontinent and Gulf Region"]

[Text] Israel is hurriedly going ahead with plans to make helpful India its operational base for Israeli espionage in the Subcontinent and the Gulf region. The Israeli Government gave the green signal for the execution of its 'Grand Design' to penetrate the Subcontinent after the New Delhi visit of its Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, last May when he held long parleys with President S.D. Sharma, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao and their Ministers and top officials. The Diplomatic Editor of the pro-Establishment New Delhi newspaper, the HINDUSTAN TIMES, reported in its issue of May 19 that "a broad agreement on intensifying Indo-Israeli cooperation in many fields and meeting the challenge posed by fundamentalism and terrorism" emerged from these talks. In Indo-Israeli eyes, these appellations relate to Islam and Muslims.

Since the Israeli Foreign Minister's visit, hundreds of Israeli officials, 'trade representatives and businessmen' have been touring India to "deepen the Indo-Israeli relationship" and build up the espionage network. Many of them are undercover agents of Israel's cloak-and-dagger spy agency, the Mossad, with which India's equally notorious spy organisation, the RAW [Research and Analysis Wing (Intelligence Agency)], has secretly cooperated in recent years. A clue to the extent of their cooperation was furnished by a report in a leading Indian daily, the INDIAN EXPRESS of May 25, that "India may seek Israeli help in securing LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] Supremo Velupillai Prabhakaran's presence at the trial of the Rajiv Gandhi assassination case." (LTTE is a Tamil terrorist organisation in Sri Lanka, with supportive cells in Tamil Nadu in India, whose agents are said to have murdered Premier Rajiv Gandhi. Israeli intelligence agents had helped the Tamil 'Tigers' at

one stage in the 1980s while the Indian RAW gave them covertly, funds and weapons for setting up a Tamil State in Sri Lanka.)

Some of the baits offered to New Delhi by the Israeli Government to help Israel expand its presence and influence in India are that Israel will provide India with highly sophisticated military technology, mostly purloined from the USA, help India in the manufacture of more lethal weapons and the upgrading of old Soviet-supplied arms, and guide and train Indian civil and military personnel in crushing local insurgencies, as in Occupied Kashmir, East Punjab and Nagaland. Additionally, the Israeli lobby in the USA will expand its cooperative relations with the Indian lobby there.

Once the Israeli Government has established its operational infrastructure in India and penetrated the Indian Government, the Indian Armed Forces and India's industry, the focus of its attention will be the other countries of the Subcontinent, the Arab Gulf States, Iran and Afghanistan. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has already wrung a promise from India's ruling leaders that New Delhi will be responsive to Tel Aviv's viewpoint on matters concerning Israel which are raised in the United Nations and its agencies. Last year, India lined up with the USA in rescinding a 1974 UN resolution which equated Zionism with racism.

The recruitment of operatives for the Israeli spy network in India has already begun. Most of its undercover agents will be pressed into service from the fairly sizeable Jewish community in India, especially those in Bombay. In doing so, Israel will follow the Mossad's operational pattern in the USA where a hard core of full-time, veteran Israeli spies functions as "the brain," directing a vast network of agents, helpers and dupes recruited from the pro-Zionist Jewish groups. Many of them are fired with a religious zeal to serve Judaism and the Jewish State and accept no payment for the services rendered to Israel. They cultivate 'moles' among the American Gentiles in the US Administration and the military to buy secrets and classified documents of interest to Israel. Israeli operatives deployed in India are already cultivating pliable Indian officials in the Administration and in the military establishment to help establish cells of support or become informants and 'moles' for the Mossad.

Israel hopes to reap hefty dividends for its Indian operations from the Cultural and Tourism and Civil Aviation agreements which its Foreign Minister Peres signed with the Indian Government in New Delhi last May. The Israeli Government airline, EL AL, and Israeli air charter companies will now increase their air services to and from India, offering subsidised tours of Israel, particularly for the Jewish community in India. The joint Indo-Israeli Fund for research and development, whose setting up was announced by him during his New Delhi visit, with Israel and India equally contributing \$3 million a year, is now functioning. Israel is creating an India Chair at the Hebrew University in Tel Aviv while the Indian authorities will set up an Israel Chair at the Jawaharlal University in New Delhi. The format for enlarged cooperation between the intelligence agencies of the two countries is being worked out and the head of India's spy agency, the RAW, has visited Tel Aviv a

number of times in recent months. Mossad's agents have surveyed operational conditions in Indian-held Jammu and Kashmir on New Delhi's request, mostly as fake tourists, and given New Delhi plans for throttling the Muslim Kashmiri freedom movement.

Typical of Israel's hammer-and-tong colonial policy towards the Arabs whom it has enslaved in the Occupied Arab territories, Foreign Minister Peres advised the Indian Government to solve the Kashmir problem by changing its demography by large-scale Hindu colonisation of the State to outnumber the Muslims. The President of the Muslim-baiting BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], Mr. L.K. Advani, who met Peres in New Delhi, welcomed the Israeli advice and advocated a defence tie-up with Israel. Some leaders of the BJP have toured Israel as guests of the Israeli Government. Tel Aviv will use the BJP leadership to pressurise the Congress(I) Government to deepen the Indo-Israeli nexus.

An area of special interest to Israel is India's relations with the Arab countries, particularly those in the Gulf region. Both India and Israel covet their oil wealth. Israeli firms may secretly partner Indian firms trading with the Arab countries and invest in Indian industries which export goods to them. This will enable Israel to gatecrash into the Gulf market and infiltrate into the Indian communities there for its intelligence-gathering operations. The Mossad and the Israeli Navy are reported to have shown interest in assisting the Indian Navy in surveying the riches of the Oman coast under a contract awarded to India by the Omani Government. The Indian Government will be willing to oblige Israel in view of the many baits Tel Aviv has offered to India and its willingness to help the Indian intelligence agencies in their covert operations against Pakistan. For years, the Israelis and the Indians have worked against Pakistan's nuclear programme and lobbied in the USA for the stoppage of US arms and economic aid to Pakistan, accusing it of making atom bombs on the sly and promoting Islamic 'fundamentalism and terrorism'.

What the Hindu leaders of India do not seem to realise is that the Israelis are hard task-masters and can be ruthless if their expectations are not fulfilled. In the summer of last year, Israeli agents in India and the Middle East alerted US officials to an Indian shipment of chemicals destined for Syria. The Syrians said they wanted it for making chemical fertiliser, the Israelis told the USA that Syria would use the chemicals from India for making chemical weapons. The shipment never reached Syria. The Israeli authorities have not spared even their greatest benefactor, the USA, whenever they suspected that US policy might harm Israel's national interests. In the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israeli planes and torpedo boats blasted and disabled a US Navy ship, "USS Liberty," killing 34 American sailors and injuring 171 others in the crew. The intelligence ship was watching the Israeli coast and the Israelis did not want it to be a witness to their clandestine operations to grab more Syrian territory in violation of a UN ceasefire accord.

JKLF Rejects Division of Kashmir

BK2009010693 Karachi DAWN in English 19 Sep 93 p 6

[Text] Rawalpindi, Sept 18: The Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) has rejected every solution of Kashmir issue based either on any type of division of Jammu Kashmir State or on a PLO-Israel Accord type arrangements.

Addressing a meeting here at Rawalpindi Press Club late on Friday night to observe the fifth anniversary of the martyrdom of Ejaz Ahmad Dar Sheheed, the Chairman of the JKLF, Amanullah Khan said that no patriotic Kashmiri would accept division of his motherland.

About the suggestions from certain quarters that Kashmir issue should be resolved on the pattern of PLO-Israel Accord, Amanullah said that accepting such an agreement would be suicidal.

Elaborating his contention, he said that in 1951 Indian occupied-Kashmir was given full internal autonomy having its own president, prime minister, national flag, national language and its own constitution and India retaining only defence, foreign affairs, communication and currency of state.

In addition, he said, India had pledged even at the United Nations, that Kashmiris would later be given the right to determine their future and that they could even opt for complete independence of the state.

But, he said, instead of giving that right, India gradually deprived Kashmiris of even the internal autonomy granted in 1951.

The JKLF chief said that under an agreement between the governments of Pakistan and Azad Kashmir, Gilgit Baltistan and the northern regions of Jammu Kashmir state were given under temporary control of the Pakistan government.

But now the bureaucracy of Pakistan claimed these areas as permanent parts of Pakistan, adding that having received this sort of treatment in the past, Kashmiris were not fools to fall into a similar trap of pledges and promises only to be broken later.

Senior Vice Chairman of the Organization, Raja Muzaffar also spoke on the occasion.

DAWN Reports Singh Remarks on Secret Talks

BK1909140993 Karachi DAWN in English 19 Sep 93 p 1

[Report: "Delhi Backs Plea for Secret Talks"]

[Text] New Delhi, Sept 18: Indian External Affairs Minister Dinash Singh has welcomed a suggestion for Oslo-type secret talks between India and Pakistan to help settle the Kashmir question.

In an exclusive interview with Khaleej Times here on Wednesday night, he said holding secret and informal negotiations between the envoys of the prime ministers of India and Pakistan to hammer out a solution to the 46-year-old dispute over Kashmir is "a good idea."

This is the first time that a senior Indian minister has reacted to suggestions that India and Pakistan should undertake confidential and unpublicised negotiations on Kashmir, similar to the ones held between the Israelis and the Palestinians in Norway's capital Oslo that led to the signing of the historic agreement in Washington last Monday.

The minister's response is significant in view of the fact that Kashmir is the most serious dispute that has afflicted relations between India and Pakistan since the Indian subcontinent was partitioned by the departing British rulers in August 1947.

However, the 68-year-old Mr Singh said: "You see one of the difficulties that arise as soon as we talk of any such initiative is, everybody starts shouting. 'Pakistan has not created the right climate for a dialogue. They go on supporting terrorists'."

[Correspondent] Would you like Pakistan to pave the way by saying that they will not support terrorism in India?

[Singh] They needn't even say it. Saying it will mean admitting that they were doing it. So, they should just stop it.

[Correspondent] Can I quote you as saying that India has an open mind on going in for Oslo-type negotiations with Pakistan?

[Singh] India has an open mind on negotiations. Don't compare it with any other process. We are willing to discuss all issues with Pakistan, including Kashmir, any time, any where, I can't say anything more than that."

Answering a host of questions on India's relationship with Pakistan, Mr Singh admitted that the Kashmir issue was "a very difficult one."

He explained: "The constitution of India does not permit any cessation of territory, and we are all sworn to uphold the constitution and the integrity of India. So, if we initiate any move that could change that, immediately, we can all be thrown out. Any government will be thrown out because it is against the constitution."

Pakistan, the minister said, has fixed itself on a plebiscite in Kashmir. "Now, a plebiscite could mean possible secession. So, we cannot agree to that."

The minister, who has just recovered from a stroke and walks with a slight limp, went on: "If we could get some idea from the Pakistanis as to what is their bottomline, then we could give some thought to whether there is any way of meeting it. That is what we have to explore. But if they talk of only plebiscite, then there is no meeting point. This cannot be acceptable."

While the idea of secret Indo-Pak talks on Kashmir obviously fascinates Mr Singh, he is however, worried about the limitations under which the Indian government has to operate.

He said: "I think such negotiations are a good idea. But will our system permit them? Will our party permit? Will the opposition permit it? They'll ask questions every hour, like, What's happening? What have you committed?"

However, he declared: "There have to be negotiations with Pakistan. There's no alternative otherwise the international community will one day force mediation on us."

Asked if this would figure in his bilateral talks with Pakistan Foreign Minister Abdul Sattar in New York later this month, Mr Singh said: "I have no such instruction from the prime minister. This will require a major decision."

Mr Singh is leaving for New York on Monday to attend the deliberations of the UN General Assembly.

Internal Affairs

Drug Barons Seek Removal of Names From List Prepared for DEA

93LA0211A Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
9 Aug 93 p 4

[Article: "Drug Barons' Bid To Delete Names From PNCB-DEA List"; italicized words as published]

[Text] Islamabad—More than 70 drug barons have reportedly established secret contact with the government for the removal of their names from the list which is understood to have been formulated by Pakistan Narcotics Control Board (PNCB) with the cooperation of Drug Enforcement Agency of United States, competent sources disclosed to *The Frontier Post* here Sunday.

Following the election commissions directive that people with black money will not be allowed to contest elections, the PNCB, with the concurrences of U.S. DEA have pinpointed the names of more than 70 drug barons of the country who are likely to sponsor their candidates or participate themselves in the ensuing October general elections.

The enlisted ones have reportedly approached the government to get their record straight.

Earlier, some of the major intelligence agencies predicted an active financial and physically violent role of these drug barons in it was suggested to the election commission by the caretaker government and certain political parties who are making every endeavour to block the entry of drug barons in the elections, that election commission should establish closer liaison with the federal agencies, provincial governments and other related departments to ensure pre-nomination papers filing scrutiny.

However, officials still concede the fact that flow of money from drug barons to the political parties cannot be blocked in view of the massive influence hitherto exercised by such western interests in the past.

Editorial Urges Steps Against Influential Drug Dealers

BK1208130793 Rawalpindi *JANG* in Urdu 11 Aug 93 p 9

[Editorial: "The Proposal for Arresting Narcotics Smugglers"]

[Text] After extensive transfers of officials in the administration in order to make the elections clean and transparent, the caretaker government is now considering action to deal with narcotics smugglers. According to a report, a list of

these drug dealers have already been sent to sensitive institutions so as to prevent the use of drug money in the elections. Muslim League-Nawaz Group and Ms. Benazir Bhutto's party had both been accusing each other of using the drug traffickers to their advantage. It might well be called a political confrontation or slander. But the fact still remains that narcotics smugglers and their patrons are active in politics as well. These people were exposed during the government of Ziaul Haq when the intelligence agencies disclosed that a number of members of parliament were involved in heroin smuggling. They are so influential, however, that the government kept promising to nab them, but never dared take any practical step against them. The lists of heroin smugglers prepared by some foreign countries include names of some influential politicians as well.

Undoubtedly, there is every possibility that these people will actively take part in politics; that they will help their supporters and patrons so that they get elected to the assembly and then use their political influence to protect them from the clutches of the law. They are the people obstructing all steps to check the growing menace of drugs in the country. They do not even realize what kind of suffering the nation is undergoing due to their contemptible operations. A large number of youth and a sizable portion of the poor and backward classes of people have become addicted to drugs, thereby rendering themselves worthless in the society.

The patrons of drug traffickers should be dealt with sternly if the production of narcotics, its sale in the country, and smuggling abroad are to be stopped. The production of drugs and their smuggling outside the country can be considerably checked by neutralizing these people. The menace cannot be eradicated until the influential smugglers are nabbed. The problem cannot be solved by merely arresting the small fry. It is a very difficult task and needs a lot of guts. Every serious and patriotic citizen of the country will support the caretaker government if it nabs the drug barons with solid proof and evidence against them.

New Passports for All Citizens Ordered

93LA0211H Lahore *THE PAKISTAN TIMES* in English
17 Aug 93 p 1

[Article: "All Passports Being Cancelled"]

[Text] Islamabad, Aug. 16: The government has decided to cancel all passports and issue new passports to ensure that no fake passports are made. This decision will be implemented in January next year. The next design of the passport has been approved and Interior Ministry has issued instructions to Pakistan Security Printing Corporation (PSPC) for printing of new passports.

The government has taken this decision after receiving numerous complaints from Saudi Arabia, US and other western countries about illegal immigrants from Pakistan to their countries. A large number of Pakistanis were also caught with fake passports and documents by security agencies of US and Saudi Arabia.

After receiving these complaints government asked various investigations agencies to probe into the matter. After

detailed investigation it was learnt that these Pakistanis, illegally entering other countries were also found involved in drug trafficking.

The recommendations of the investigation report were reviewed in high level meetings and it was finally decided to issue new passports. The change of photos in new passports will be almost impossible and special brand of paper is being imported for the new passport. Special threat on each page of passport will be used, which at present is used in currency notes.

It has also been decided to use stickers instead of stamps on passports and special ink will be used. In new passports unnecessary columns were also being removed.

It was learnt that Director-General passport and Immigration had meeting with authorities of PSPC in Karachi and schedule has been finalised. The authorities of printing press have assured that these passports will be handed over to Interior Ministry on time.—NNI

Foreign Service Families Said 'Ill-Paid', 'Ill-Treated'

93LA0226E Lahore *THE NATION* in English 20 Aug 93 p 11

[Article by Khalid Hasan: "Pakistan's Foreign Legion"]

[Text] Soon after he took office, Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto said of the Foreign Office and its self-important denizens. "The good news is that I know all of them. It also happens to be the bad news." He also reminded them that the Civil Service of Pakistan, which he had just put in place—they are back since and how, though under the misleadingly innocuous name of District Management Group—was at least competent. Never without a sense of humour in such situations, he told them that the "tea party was over" and they better pull up their socks and get down to work. Since rich, influential, snobbish and self-centered people do not notice servants (George Orwell was the first to point out), Mr Bhutto told them that they had better be careful as to what they said during their drinking sessions in their offices "because the man who brings you your tea is a PPP [Pakistan People's Party] voter. He is my man."

At the time, there were some fine men in the Foreign Service, brilliant Directors-General like Abdul Sattar, Aftab Ahmed Khan, Mohammad Yunus and Dr Maqbul Bhatti, all of whom Mr Bhutto knew personally and respected for their professionalism. There were Directors of the intellectual and diplomatic excellence of Hayat Medhi (treated in most shabby manner by Gen. Ziaul Haq. There were Ambassadors like S.K. Delahvi, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Jamshed Marker, Sahibzada Yaqub Khan and Iftikhar Ali (Mr Bhutto's Foreign Secretary briefly) and, above all, there was Agha Shahi, perhaps the most brilliant diplomat produced by our country. The only thing he may have lacked was warmth, but then nobody is perfect. None of these gentlemen except "Jimmy" Marker are now in service though by one of those strange and welcome accidents, Abdul Sattar is Foreign Minister though only between now and October.

There are several things the matter with the Foreign Service. The first is its brahmanim. It considers itself not only above reproach but as if it were from amongst the elect, answerable to no authority higher than its own. In a mission abroad, especially a large one, the officers of the service are outnumbered by other officials. There are people from Information, Education, Home, the Armed Forces, not to forget the "I-types"—most of whose time is spent spying on friends and colleagues because it requires no effort and needs no work. However, it is the service which runs the roost. A strapping third Secretary, who can't tell the difference between his jugears and his knee caps is more important than a Minister who is from outside the "family."

Consequently, no Pakistani Mission abroad, unless it is very small and is staffed exclusively by officers of the service, works as an integrated, well-coordinated unit. Information available to the political side (manned or womaned exclusively by members of the Foreign Service group) from home or the host country is seldom shared with those outside the fraternity. While it is true that pure diplomatic work and dealings with the host government are the responsibility of the political side, surely what it does should be transparent. No harm, only good can come out of sharing. Resultantly, those outside the fold feel isolated and are for the most part ignorant, not because they are inherently ignorant but because they are kept in ignorance.

Simple things like the movement of VIPs from Pakistan are kept away from others. Even Press and Information officials are not always informed about basic things. They invariably hear from others, at times outsiders, what is happening or what is going to happen in their own Missions. It is now twenty years since a number of officers, but men and women, were inducted into the Foreign Service by Mr Zulfikar Ali Bhutto to fill posts fallen vacant following the break-up of Pakistan and the defection of almost every Bengali officer. To this day, officers who joined as "lateral entrants" have not really been accepted by the Foreign Service proper. In the initial years, they were discriminated against, handed out the least pleasant jobs and generally made to feel unwanted. One of them told me—I being one such myself at the time—that he felt like a poor relation of the Foreign Service family whose presence was tolerated but just barely and who wasn't considered "one of us."

A few years ago, something I had written in another newspaper about the functioning of Pakistan's diplomatic Missions abroad, must have caused sufficient anguish to Mr Sheheryar Rashed, a member of the service, son of the great Noon Meem Rashed, and someone I had known sufficiently well as he had known me, to write a letter to the Paper which said: What can he (that is me) know about the Foreign Service works when his only experience of it was confined to his having been in the "underbrush of diplomacy" for some years.

There is no question that there are some people of great ability in the service even today, people like Khalid Salim, Shafqat Kakakhel, Zafar Hilaly, Tariq Farooq Mirza, Shahid Malik and others. What is wrong is the basic attitude, the grassroots approach.

Having said this, I would like to point out that the Foreign Service is ill-paid, ill-housed and ill-maintained. Even drought-stricken African states do better by their diplomats abroad than Pakistan. It will be far better to reduce the number of Missions, cut staff and keep what is to be kept in trim condition: be they buildings, personnel or equipment. As is, the most ill-kept and hygienically uninhabitable embassies in the whole World-wide world are those of Pakistan. While it must have something to do with our refusal to live cleanly, surely it is a disgraceful state of affairs. Visit any of our Mission abroad and you will know what I mean. Those who have had occasion to do so, I need not labour the point with.

Take the London and Washington embassies, among the largest that we maintain, as an example. They should be like show windows but in their present state, unchanged over the years and worsening they will be more in harmony in a Third World shanty town after heavy rain than the fashionable Massachusetts Avenue in DC and Knightsbridge in London where they are located. Living in Washington, I often wonder how Ambassador after Ambassador, which have included Gen. Ejaz Azim, Gen Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, not to mention Lady Abida Hussain, somehow failed to see how filthy and disgracefully ill-kept the Chancery in Washington and the rooms where people sat and worked were. If they did—and how could they not have—why were they not able to or willing to do anything about it?"

If cleanliness is next to Godliness, then the Pakistan Foreign Service is in a most un-Godly state. So help them Beelzebub.

Aslam Beg, Mahboobul Haq, Asghar Khan Seeking Highest Office

93LA0226D Lahore THE NATION in English 20 Aug 93 p 7

[Article by Masud Ahmad: "The Presidential Race"]

[Text] Exit Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Thank God. Enter Dr Mahboobul Haq? General Mirza Aslam Beg? God help us.

Dr Mahboobul Haq has yet to openly announce his intentions of entering the race. General Aslam Beg is already seen standing on the starting line warming himself up. He has already propounded the opening lines of his manifesto. Dr Haq has yet to come out with his faith and beliefs but look at the names of those who are reportedly planning (conspiring?) to escort him to the hilltop house: (1) Gen Mujibur Rehman. (2) Gen Rafiqat Hussain. Both were close cronies of Gen Ziaul Haq which hardly qualifies them for the "Democrat of the Year" award. Gen Rafiqat had an added charisma. He could manipulate elections as no one else could in recorded human history. In Ziaul Haq's famous, rather infamous, referendum, only 5 per cent voters turned up to vote. With his chhoo-mantar Gen Rafiqat blew it up to 95 per cent, leaving neutral observers gasping. Come 1990 elections Ghulam Ishaq Khan urgently called him from abroad asking him not to forget to bring his magic wand along so that he could repeat his performance. He did. Sitting in the President's House he was functioning as a clandestine super-Election Commission to chop and churn votes counts.

A third name for the high office is that of Air Marshal Asghar Khan if we are to believe his son Umar. But Gen Aslam Beg is the one who is most actively in the field. In fact he has been in the field from the day he doffed his uniform. What is (are) FRIENDS for?

In a long article in *THE NATION* last Friday he advocates for an active role of the armed forces in the affairs of the state. He recommends expansion of the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. He advises that the Leader of the Opposition should also be brought in. He wants to broaden the scope of its functioning. There is a lot of logic in what he says. Even if there were not he has every right to hold any belief and express it openly. What he needs to diligently avoid is to see some selective facts through highly tinted glasses.

Gen Beg begins by saying that: "The state of affairs is indeed very agonising. It is, therefore, essential that the facts and realities are explicitly made known to the nation so that they are better placed to appreciate the Army's role, not as a prelude to Martial Law, but as a deterrence against it."

The last clause is somewhat confusing but let us see what he says next:

"An objective evaluation of events reveals that the Army only intervenes when all other doors of reconciliation and accommodation appear to be closed. When the country is engulfed in terrible political chaos and the administrative machinery of the government appears to be paralysed ... it is only then that the Army, in the supreme interest of the country's integrity and security comes into action."

If Gen Beg was making this statement under oath to say the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth it is hard to believe that he could have been so categorical.

Much has been written about the first two Martial Laws by now and it is no secret now that both the 1958 and 1969 Martial Laws were preplanned and the Army was only looking for an appropriate moment to step in. They had to sit back and wait impatiently for a little over seven weeks before taking over the reins "in the supreme interest of the country's integrity and security." I personally know how angry and frustrated some top people in GHQ felt when Nawabzada Nasrullah's idea of a round-table conference was eagerly accepted by Ayub Khan, thus creating a last-minute hurdle in their plan to march towards the President's House. In 1977 the situation was somewhat dicey but as we know an agreement had been reached between the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and PNA [Pakistan National Alliance] teams, Mr Bhutto bowing down to PNA's demand to hold fresh elections—the demand which had triggered the bloody riots. It is true that the peace did not win the approval of three persons—Begum Nasim Wali Khan, Air Marshal Asghar Khan and Sher Baz Mazari. Can Gen Aslam Beg honestly justify the imposition of Martial Law in deference to the whims or passions of those three individuals, the last two having no following worth the name and the first one having personal motive for her stance? Is he unaware that Zia clamped Martial Law because the news was leaked to him either by Ghulam Ishaq Khan or by Gen Jilani that Mr Bhutto was going to sack him?

And then came a season when the ground conditions were ideal according to Gen Beg's perception, for the Army to step in to serve the nation. The President and the Prime Minister were going for each other's throat. The Centre and the provinces were digging trenches for a final battle. Yet we did not hear the calamitous announcement—imposition of Martial Law. Because a General Abdul Waheed was sitting in GHQ, not a Gen Zia or even a Gen Beg. But we will take it up next time. Gen Beg's thought-provoking thesis has more than one dimension and it needs serious cogitation.

"Murtaza poses no threat to Benazir: Nusrat," said a headline four days ago. Who will dispute it? Of course Murtaza is no threat to Benazir. He is only a threat to Pakistan Peoples Party. That should not worry Begum Nusrat Bhutto overmuch. After all she is only the Chairperson of PPP, not its Co-Chairperson.

For PPP Mr Murtaza Bhutto can create problems the dimensions of which carry a question mark at this point to time. He is not joining PPP. So he will be parallel force, particularly in Sindh, PPP's base. Whatever the strength of that force would be, it is good news for PML(N) [Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)]. We have already heard some utterings of young Mr Bhutto which could not have been music in the ears of PPP cadres, high or low. He is calling PPP as almost a handmaiden of intelligence agencies—not a very pleasing thought. And, unthinkable, he has named the PPP leader of the eminence of Salman Taseer as a creature of, out of all the people in the world, the not very highly rated character in our recent history, Brig Imtiaz (remember Midnight Jackals?) also known by a not very flattering nickname.

Mr Murtaza Bhutto is still many deserts away yet some darkish clouds appear to be rising on PPP's horizon. Can Begum Nusrat Bhutto draft a code of conduct for him before launching him on the hazardous course, a different code of conduct than the one being drafted by the Election Commission, the one direly needed in the tricky situation created for PPP by Murtaza Bhutto's sudden cropping up.

You and I know that 150,000 Army officers and jawans are to be deployed to supervise the coming National and Provincial Assemblies elections. It will cost the nation quite some money to deploy that many troops all over the country. You and I also know that if the troops in that large numbers have to be deployed on two separate days, by simple calculation it will cost the nation twice as much. You and I know, but the Election Commission doesn't. Or it does not care. The candidates also spend quite some money in taking their voters to the polls, in some cases even feeding them. If the exercise ends in one day instead of spreading it over two days, their expenses will be cut down to half. So would be the voters' tribulations. And then they say that time is money. Count the cost of a whole day spent by the whole nation running to the polling booths. But such odd thoughts are never allowed to invade Election Commission's well-secluded thinking areas. On the question of holding National and Provincial Assemblies polls on the same day it has pronounced its judgment. No, we cannot hold polls on the same day, the Commission has pronounced. The reason? There is no consensus on this issue among major political parties.

Would it surprise Their Excellencies, the members of the Election Commission, if someone were to point out to them that there is another major issue on which there [is] no consensus among the major, even the minor political parties, and that is the Identity Card condition for casting vote. Those who are against it—and Pakistan's largest political party is opposing the condition—have valid ground for their stance. Millions of voters would be deprived of their right to vote as they do not possess Identity Cards and there is no likelihood of all of them being supplied with the cards in the short time left for the polls. Yet this lack of consensus is of no concern to the Election Commission. Well, the Commission has a right to be choosy like all of us.

Youth Said Increasingly Attracted to Anti-U.S. Rhetoric

93LA0225F Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
27 Aug 93 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ikram Hoti: "Qazi Stance To Gain by Embargo"]

[Text] The imposition of sanctions by US against Pakistan and China over the M-11 missile sale issue, are being considered to wax the prevailing anti-American and pro-fundamentalist feelings.

Cross sections of society growingly find the anti-American and pro-fundamentalist slogans 'appealing'. They also deem fundamentalism the only alternative to the poorly performing politicians who are bracketed as "liberal." These sections are expected to react to the Wednesday sanctions in the form of more hatred not only for US but also the major political leaders at home.

Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, the two leading figures of Pakistan, would be facing a negative response in the coming polls from these sections of society.

Qazi Hussain Ahmad, who switched on his party's election campaign with a roaring anti-American stance and a decided leaning for fundamentalism, is expected to emerge stronger than ever before.

Three main events in Pakistan's recent history have been of unprecedented importance in moulding mass psyche in Pakistan more against the American approach towards this country than all the past events, including the US reluctance to save Pakistan from division in its 1971 war with India, in spite of Washington's guarantees for defence which all Pakistanis expected would be realised in the shape of much publicised "7th Fleet."

The recent events of president and prime minister's stepping down, Moeen Qureshi's takeover as caretaker prime minister, and his economic package, and Ghulam Ishaq Khan's recent claim that he had to quit due to mounting pressure from United States, came as yet another proof for the man in the street that America was interfering in the affairs of the country at the highest level. Moeen Qureshi's appointment has been widely publicised as an American-dictate and the package of 19th August is being received by almost all sections of the country's population as a "venture" in line with the two previous "dictates."

Coming down harsher on the price hike, which is being called as "Moeen's package," Qazi Hussain Ahmad has been claiming in his party electioneering that the caretakers economic policies were not criticised by Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif because, "both are pro-American and they don't want to annoy their masters."

Qazi is being viewed to be consistent, bold and most vocal Pakistani leader in his anti-American stance. On the contrary, no other Pakistani politician is rated to be of his calibre by political career on the issue. This factor, as observers say, would be decisive in turning a wider section of the youth at home as pro-Qazi.

The JI [Jamaat-i-Islami] chief has announced to launch an anti-price hike campaign in all the four provinces, which though not expected to figure heavily but is being considered to appear as the most important event before voters go to polling booths.

Haji Ghulam Ahmad Bilour of ANP, took the lead from Qazi and went on a token hunger strike Thursday evening against the sky-rocketing prices.

PMAP [Pahktoonkhwa Milli Awami Party] has also announced observing black day against price hike Saturday.

Though leaders of ANP [Awami National Party] and PMAP are not boisterous enough to match the anti-American stance of JI chief but they do not hesitate in linking the price rise to "an imported prime minister's misdoings."

Of all the factors, the one which remains to be thoroughly analysed is the active support to anti-American stance of Jamaat-i-Islami from the ever-rising number of college-going youth. During the Gulf war, though a section of PPP [Pakistan People's Party] leadership had come out on the streets to voice concern against "Nawaz government's pro-American policies," but it was Qazi Hussain Ahmad who put up a consistent pressure against US attacks on Iraq. Though his stance against the "desert storm" did not match his crusade against "Godless Soviet Union" he emerged to be a leader of far higher coherence in his approach, vis-a-vis "anti-Muslim US policy."

But he is not the only religious politician to be so vocal against "American designs towards the Muslim world." Hafiz Hussain Ahmad, a JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam] Senator has also been consistent in his anti-US stand. Along with Qazi Hussain, Hafiz happens to be equally vocal against "American policy towards Bosnian Muslims." Both have been raising calls on US to stop favouring the Serb aggressors against Muslims in Bosnia. The youth in Pakistan is finding only the religious politicians standing firm against what is being widely propagated as "anti-Muslim, anti-Pakistan US policies." This is being considered to be a dangerous turn in politics at home, by anti-fundamentalist observers, who argue that fundamentalism appears to emerge as the only alternative to the feeble stance of moderate and liberal politicians and parties.

On the other hand, majority of youth with pro-Bhutto leanings, is already of the belief that Z.A. Bhutto was hanged on the instigation of America Supporters of late military dictator Gen. Zia, don't seem to reject the idea that the

"fundamentalist general" could have been killed by "American agents." Nawaz's supporters are given to believe that the former prime minister had been forced to bow out under US pressure. This is also being taken as American aversion to democracy in Pakistan. Most Pakistanis believe that the recent US threat to include Pakistan in the list of "countries exporting terrorism" was in fact in line with American policy of "making Pakistan subservient to US dictates." Similarly a good part of Pakistani youth, convinced that "Kashmir is Pakistan's integral part" is pained to find that India is favoured against Pakistan on Kashmir issue. Feeling being discriminated against, this part of the youth tends to become more and more active on the issue in all major towns of the country, where most demonstrations on Kashmir are organised and led by religious politicians with Qazi Hussain Ahmad figuring most prominently.

Observers consider it safe to conclude that the Wednesday sanctions against Pakistan would go a long way towards earning JI both short and long-term gains. They don't deem it a far-fetched idea that JI would become more and more popular in the backdrop of these sanctions and would become more and more confident after a long period, during which religious parties were regularly rejected by Pakistani voters and broad sections of the youth.

Qureshi's Economic Moves Termed 'Political Decisions'

93LA0226F Lahore THE NATION in English 4 Sep 93 p 6

[Article by Anjum Ibrahim: "The Devaluation and the Trimming"]

[Text] Within one week the Caretaker Finance Minister Syed Babar Ali devalued the rupee twice. And attempted to take on the might of the bureaucracy, unsuccessfully at that, by trying to trim down the total number of bureaucrats by almost half. The first reflects the new Caretaker's priority and the second, perhaps, Mr Babar Ali's unfulfilled dreams which will, in all probability, find an echo in the mind of the man on the street.

First the devaluation. And the primary question is why was there a felt need to devalue the rupee? And why did the Caretakers feel it essential to devalue the rupee twice within a week? The latter question is easy to answer: the need for a second devaluation was probably directly related to the first. And the market slide of the rupee after the first loss of its value was announced, was greater than the expectations of the policy makers/Caretakers. However, why was there a need to devalue may not be that simple to answer because it is inexorably tied in with politics. And in spite of the fact that the Caretakers, like their predecessors led by Mazari, have fully endorsed the policies of the Nawaz Sharif government. At this point, it is relevant to point out that the former government of Nawaz Sharif was vigorously opposed to the devaluation theory for basically one reason: namely, that by officially reducing the value of the rupee the government would be responsible for a huge rise in the deficit because each rupee that it earned would pay back less of what it had borrowed in the past.

At the same time, it is relevant to point out that the industrial community was all in favour of devaluing the rupee. Ever

since the Indians, our major competitors in the international product market, devalued their rupee it was thought by Pakistani exporters that our products would no longer be able to compete with Indian products any more as far as prices were concerned. Hence most of the export groups in the country were in favour of a devaluation. This included powerful pressure groups like the textile sector, the spinning sector, the medical exporters, the sports goods exporters, etc. For course, the importers were against a devaluation since that would have implied an increase in their costs.

Another group that could have favoured devaluation was our international creditors like the World Bank/IMF. And their logic is that a currency which does not reflect its true value, as given by the wide divergence between the market and the official rate of the rupee, must be devalued. Or, in other words, an over valued currency must be devalued. The converse generally does not hold that is if a currency is under-valued it may not be revalued because of the existence of free exchange markets which allow currencies to find their own values. Thus it is obvious that the former Finance Minister, Sartaj Aziz was resisting the pressure from the international donor agencies as far as devaluing the rupee was concerned.

One can, of course, accuse the Caretaker Prime Minister of conforming to the ideology of the World Bank because of his past long affiliation with that organisation. And equally, one can say that the Caretaker Finance Minister in his capacity as an industrialist may have naturally inclined towards devaluation. Others might say that the Caretakers ought not to have been allowed to effect such major policy decisions like devaluation, a policy that, by itself, can and will negate the budget of the Sharif government by making all debt servicing estimates, accounting for over a quarter of the budget, null and void. Similarly, importers will be disappointed by the fact that their costs are going to rise by more than they envisioned when the orders were made. Thus the former government cannot take any credit for any step that it may have taken because it would now be negated by the devaluation of the Caretakers.

Whether the Caretaker Prime Minister and Finance Minister took the decision to appease the concerns of World Bank/IMF donor agencies, or because of their own uniquely personal reasons or because they genuinely believed that devaluation was in the national interest, is a question that will be answered according to a person's political affiliations. And it is precisely this conclusion that makes one suspect that devaluation was a political decision and hence ought to have been postponed by the Caretakers and left to a government with a popular mandate; especially considering that the former government of Nawaz Sharif rejected the repeated calls by the industrial community to devalue the rupee, perhaps the only request by the industrialists that was consistently denied. And the why is evident: because it was thought that a devaluation would have hurt the economy by more than it would benefit it. And yet one cannot help wondering why the Caretakers assessment on this issue is no markedly different from that of the Nawaz Sharif government and one wonders why, given that both had access to the same information. But in our country it is indeed unfortunate that a Caretaker status is often mistaken

for the real thing. After the death of Ziaul Haq, the Caretakers, according to allegations by Ms Bhutto, were not above sabotaging the economy by accepting conditionalities by the IMF which would have toppled the government of Ms Bhutto had she not renegotiated on certain points. The next set of Caretakers led by Jatoi refused to upgrade the price of oil and cost the national exchequer millions of dollars later on. Then of course there was the Mazari team making bold statements, without a mandate, and perhaps, luckily for us, without the time. It is true that the latest set of Caretakers do not seem to have any political aspirations, unlike their predecessors, yet this by itself does not ensure sound macro-economic policies. As Caretakers it must be accepted that no change of economic policy be effected unless an emergency erupts.

At the same time one cannot help but applaud the effort of the Caretaker Finance Minister to try to cut the size of the bureaucracy. And even though his was an unsuccessful attempt and his antagonists on this issue can validly object that only a government with a popular mandate must have the power of trimming the bureaucracy, yet one cannot help siding with him. In this instance one can also argue that given the fact that the bureaucracy has become very powerful, it is doubtful that a politician with a popular mandate can tackle the problem because his doing so would upset the applecart that has brought him to power in the first place. Hence someone with no political aspirations like the current set of Caretakers may well have succeeded in reducing the size of the bureaucracy relative to what could be achieved in this regard by an elected government. It is indeed unfortunate that the bureaucracy of Pakistan has assumed so much power that it feels it can challenge a Finance Minister and quite effectively at that.

There is little doubt in the minds of the public that the power of the bureaucracy has to be curtailed. And an excellent way to do so is through cutting down their numbers which would also reduce the annual allocation of the government for administrative expenses. A lower budget deficit, therefore, must have an element of a smaller bureaucracy. And it would be interesting to note what the major political parties have to promise on this issue. But in all fairness, one must state here that Nawaz Sharif did take on the might of the bureaucracy even though it cost him a few years of his mandate. One would hope that Ms Bhutto would make a similar commitment as a matter of principle and as part of her pre-election slogans because this would be in the national interest.

Article Questions Reluctance To Arrest Drug Dealer Afridi

BK1509014193 Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST* in English
14 Sep 93 p 3

[Imtiaz Hussain article: "Is Government Serious in Arresting Ayub Afridi?"]

[Text] The government is not telling clearly whether Ayub Afridi is really absconding, and in this case, if he is wanted in drugs, why his relatives are not being arrested and house not demolished according to the known practice applied by political authorities in tribal areas.

The observers believe that if the Home Department is willing, Haji Ayub and Shakir Afridi, the alleged drug lords, can be arrested even in a single day. They believe that if a man can be arrested for smoking drugs and then flogged, why the drug barons like Ayub Afridi and Shakir Afridi cannot arrest if they are really involved.

Their arrest warrants were issued by a magistrate in Islamabad. The news was intentionally leaked to the press which clearly indicates that the government is reluctant to arrest them.

United States has requested for the extradition of some 12 drug being from Pakistan including Ayub Afridi and Shakir Afridi but never in history has any of the European or other country extradited the criminals wanted by Pakistan although it has an extradition treaty with Argentina, Belgium, France, Greece, Switzerland and USA reached order SHO No. 211 (1)/73, dated 20.9.1973 and under SRO No. 427(1)/80, dated 20.4.1982. Pakistan concluded extradition treaty with San Marino, Monaco, the Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, Yugoslavia, Iraq, Ecuador, Portugal, Luxembourg, Columbia, Liberia, and Cuba. Pakistan had directly concluded an extradition treaty with five countries namely, Iran, Italy, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Maldives.

The extradition treaty is an agreement between two governments and lays down the terms and conditions and also prescribes the manner under which a fugitive offender is surrendered who is convicted of an extradition offence.

It was learnt that whenever Pakistan requested any of the European or Western country for the extradition of any of the accused found involved in crimes, they came up with accusations of political asylum which did not come under the extradition act.

A unit of agency of para-military troops is still waiting for the orders of political authorities and of the federal sensitive agency for the arrest of Ayub Afridi. They stayed at the headquarters of the Frontier Corps in Peshawar. According to the head of a sensitive agency, both the drug barons are still in Pakistan but authorities are not willing to arrest them. Otherwise why the political authorities of Khyber Agency had not adopted the traditional practice of arresting the relatives of the accused or demolishing his house.

There are a number of cases in which the political authorities of Khyber Agency arrested the relatives or demolished the houses of the accused. It means that the political authorities are still not considering Ayub Afridi and Shakir Afridi as the persons involved in drug trafficking.

Paper Urges Return of Troops From Somalia

BK1809127193 Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
18 Sep 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Call Them Back From Somalia"]

[Text] Pakistani Troops in Somalia are no longer seen as performing UN peace-keeping duties. Western media has shown and carried pictures of direct fighting between Pakistani soldiers stationed in Somalia and angry Somalis hurling stones and abuses at our troops as being "American Dogs." The occasion was when three days ago the Pakistani soldiers took over the checkpoints from departing Italian

soldiers. This was not the only incident involving Pakistani troops in recent weeks. The list is full of bloody encounters. Only a few days back, a mortar attack on the UN headquarter in Somalia had wounded two Pakistanis. Early this month Somali gunmen ambushed UN troops in Mogadishu killing one Pakistani soldier and injuring five others. To rescue the ambushed Pakistani troops, US helicopters opened indiscriminate firing on Somali gunmen killing some 150 people including women and children. The UN command sought to justify its action by saying that the women and children killed in the operation were being used as human shields by the Somali gunmen.

It all began with the killing of 23 Pakistani peace-keepers in July last at the hands of the gunmen belonging to the faction of warlord General Farah Aidede when the Pakistani soldiers were searching out weapons at different locations around Mogadishu including two radio stations. Thereafter, the catch-Aidede operation mounted by the United Nations looked like a typical anti-people operation pitting our soldiers directly against the Somali rebels. Over time, General Aidede has been gaining a reputation for himself as the Somali nationalist fighting for the cause of his country's sovereignty which is perceived to be threatened by America and "the American Dogs." Many believe that the women and children who were killed in the indiscriminate firing by the US troops were driven by a sense of motivation and commitment to fight alongside General Aidede. With a growing populist image of Aidede, the ground reality today is markedly different from what it was when the UN operation began. If General Aidede is caught, he becomes an instant martyr capable of galvanising the Somalis against what they perceive as outside interference. On the other hand, if he remains a fugitive, he retains the potential and ability to strike at the UN peace-keepers including the Pakistani troops.

A major reason for the current situation in which Pakistanis are being singled out by the Somali warlord is that the risks involved are not being shared equally by the countries participating in the UN peace-keeping efforts. The present arrangements of having separate command structures of participating countries only loosely linked through UN agency has further aggravated the situation. Apprehensions on these counts were also expressed by the Chief of Army Staff General Abdul Waheed when he visited Somalia early this month. Although he did not name any country, he did express grave reservations about some European countries whose participation in the peace-keeping has not only been lukewarm but even ineffective and at times counter productive.

There are widespread allegations that the high command in Somalia directing the peace-keepers is dominated by the US and not by the UN. It is for this reason that France has decided to withdraw its one thousand strong contingent. And it is for this reason also that an Italian General had to be recalled when he refused to obey the orders of US dominated high command. If the major runt of catch-Aidede operation is continued to be borne by our troops under the American-dominated command, Pakistanis will continue to be the target of public ridicule.

With some Somali religious factions declaring fight against UN troops as jihad, the situation is likely to get more

complicated. We, therefore, should do some serious re-thinking on keeping our troops there. General Aidede has already offered to open negotiations with the UN. He and his troops will keep on gaining respect and sympathies of black Africa. Pakistani troops in Somalia should return before they come to be regarded as mercenaries by the entire continent.

Article Sees Broad Consensus in Nuclear Policy

BK1909143793 Karachi DAWN in English 19 Sep 93 p 8

[Abdus Sattar Ghazali article: "Who Should Determine Pakistan's Nuclear Policy?"]

[Text] Caretaker Prime Minister Dr Moeen Qureshi told a press conference in Washington recently that Pakistan had "the technical capacity" to manufacture a nuclear device but had no intention of doing so.

But is the technical capacity of making a bomb the only yardstick to measure the success of a country's nuclear programme? In Pakistani atom bomb aur Ilaqai pasmanzer [The Pakistani Atom Bomb and the Regional Background] (Progressive Publishers, Lahore, Rs [rupees] 195), Raza Ali, a veteran journalist, while tracing the history of the nuclear programme from its very inception, discusses a number of other factors that have a bearing on this programme. These include the political dimensions, national security and the nuclear arms race in South Asia" as well as the persistent US pressure for non-proliferation.

One must also take into account the safety aspect of the nuclear installations in India and Pakistan. According to Raza Ali, these are not adequate. Developing countries often seek to save money by making compromises on reactor safety and environmental precautions. Nuclear reactors in Argentina, Brazil, India and Pakistan, for example, could never meet US or European safety standards. Pakistan's under-construction Chashma reactor is a case in point. It is sited on the Indus River, the lifeline of the arid and seismically active region of Punjab. Geological experts and some Pakistani officials charge that the reactor site was chosen for political reasons and that earthquake dangers discovered later were hushed up to avoid embarrassment. A report by a US earth science firm, Seeber and Armbruster, had warned that in 1976-77 the area suffered 156 earthquakes. A single quake large enough to liquefy the site and crack open the reactor could contaminate the entire Indus River valley with radioactive water. The Pakistan government used a report submitted by another firm which said any liquefaction problems are controllable. It is easy to see why the government made such a choice. Controlling the liquefaction problems, if it were possible to do so, would at least double the project's cost.

Grim evidence of inadequate safety measures at India's nuclear reactors emerged earlier this year when a major fire swept through the Nardra nuclear power station southeast of New Delhi. The blaze, which caused damage worth millions of dollars, renewed national concern over safety standards at India's nuclear facilities.

The Nardra blaze was not the only accident to befall India's sprawling nuclear industry in recent times. There were no fewer than 147 "safety related unusual occurrences" last year, according to the Atomic Energy Board.

According to Raze Ali:

The former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the founder of Pakistan's nuclear programme, alarmed the pro-Israeli powers and India from the very beginning by using the term "Islamic bomb". Bhutto was obsessed with the nuclear issue and played up the reprocessing plant issue unnecessarily.

—The Shah of Iran was not in favour of the nuclear programme of Pakistan because he believed that a Pakistani nuclear bomb would strengthen the Arab world in general and Libya in particular.

—Despite its best efforts when Pakistan failed to buy an atomic power reactor from the west the former Soviet Union offered to supply the required reactor, provided, Pakistan supported the Soviet point of view in solving the Afghan Issue peacefully. However, at the time the "Afghan Jihad" was the top priority of the government, hence, this offer could not be accepted. Later in February 1990, a Chernobyl type reactor was offered but Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto did not show any interest because of the inefficient performance of the reactor.

The author is of the view that there has been a uniformity of thought in Pakistan on the nuclear programme for the last 15 years and public opinion by and large supports that point of view. Certain elements of this thinking are:

1. The atom bomb is vital for the defence of the country against a powerful neighbour, India.

2. Pakistan should not sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) unless India does so. Pakistan's unilateral signing of NPT is seen as an unpatriotic act.

3. The atom bomb is not only necessary to ensure the freedom and security of Pakistan but the Islamic world would also benefit from it.

4. Outside pressure on Pakistan's nuclear programme is a violation of its sovereignty which should be resisted at all costs.

However, Dr Inayatullah of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, in the preface of the book suggests that the discussion should be directed towards the basic questions:

—What would be the result of a nuclear arms race between Pakistan and India? Who would win this race and at what cost?

—There are strong lobbies in Pakistan and India against abandoning the national nuclear programmes which are pushing both countries towards a horrible atomic war.

—Should the pre-bomb Indian lobby determine Pakistan's policy on the subject or should policy be evolved by taking into consideration our wider national interests?

"We should not forget that if this is left to the pro-bomb Indian lobby then it would accelerate the atomic weapons race and destroy Pakistan's economy and national amity. Thus India will achieve an upper hand even without using the atomic weapons."

—It is argued that India desires to annex Pakistan to create "Greater Bharat". Even if this argument is accepted,

Indian "designs" should be countered by adopting same other policies that also promote national harmony and ensure economic prosperity for the benefit of the common masses.

Dr Inayat says that the solution of this problem may not be difficult for a country that is economically strong, but for a country like Pakistan that is bordered with a population explosion, huge debts and internal strife, a solution to this question calls for deep thinking.

The author rightly says that the reason for the ineffectiveness of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is that the US and other nuclear powers were pressing other states not to require nuclear weapons while they themselves continue to pile up such weapons. He also refers to the contradictions in the US policy towards global nuclear non-proliferation which overlook the Israeli and South African nuclear programmes.

The book is a welcome and useful addition to the very small corps of books in Urdu on this subject even though one may not agree with the arguments of the author. Since the theme of the book is basically related to current affairs, the author draws heavily from newspapers and magazines that has yet to take the form of books.

JKLF To Resist Any PLO-Israel Type Accord on Kashmir

JK2009155893 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
20 Sep 93 p 4

[Text] Islamabad—The chairman of Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Amanullah Khan, has said that the front will resist with full force any accord, as has reached between the PLO, and Israel, for the solution of Kashmir issue.

Addressing a public meeting held in connection with the death anniversary of Ejaz Ahmad Dar, Amanullah Khan said their no partiotic Kashmiri will accept division of his motherland, in whatever shape it might be suggested.

He said that India had pledged before the world community at the UN that Kashmiris would be given right to their future. "But instead of acknowledge that right, Indian government gradually deprived Kashmir of even the internal autonomy granted in 1951 and at present Indian soldiers are engaged in genocide innocent people in the occupied Kashmir," the JKLF chief said.

Javid, Ahmad Mir, the acting president of the occupied Kashmir branch of JKLF, said that his organisation will continue to reject Indian offers of negotiations or any kind of political process until India publicly accepts that Kashmir is not her intergal part.

He said the violation human rights committees in the occupied valley and the atrocities being perpetuated on Kashmiris by the Indian forces are an open challenge for international human rights institutions.

Senior vice-chairman of JKLF, Raja Muzaffir Khan, speaking on the occasion said that Kashmiris will resist an imposed solutions on the lines of P.O. [Palestinian Organization]-Israel accord.

Ahmadis Accused of 'Posing as Muslims'

93AS0985J Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
23 Jun 93 p 5

[Report by Peter Jacob; quotation marks as published]

[Text] An Ahmadi has been accused of blasphemy in Sargodha by a man who was not even present at the time of the alleged blasphemous conversation. As in many other cases of this nature, the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) and the Majlis-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwat have initiated the prosecution.

The accused, Rana Aarsal, is 24 years old and lives in Chak 38/SB Sargodha. Originally from Lahore, he had settled in this village as a Murrabi (spiritual guide) for his community.

On November 27, 1992, a First Information Report (FIR) was lodged against him at Karana Police Station alleging that he had "defiled the name of the Holy Prophet." Aarsal is alleged to have said that "Mirza Ahmad [the founder of the Ahmadi congregation] was himself the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) and the Prophet Abraham." He is also alleged to have said that "Mirza Ahmad dreamt all that and his dreams are equal to revelation." Three witnesses are named in the report. These are Rehmat Ali, Mohammad Asghar, and Mohammad Amjad. They say that Aarsal challenged them to a debate on the issue. They went to get help from Hafiz Mohammad Akram Tufani, the complainant in the case, who himself accuses Aarsal of having "enraged the feelings of the Muslims."

Chak 38/SB is a relatively small village. Of the 230 families settled there, some 28 belong to the Ahmadi congregation. There had not been any cases of religious disharmony in the village until four years ago, when a branch of Majlis-e-Khatm-e-Nabuwat started functioning there.

Chaudhry Rehmat Ullah, also an Ahmadi, is a co-lambardar of the village. A case has been registered against him under section 298 C of the Penal Code, for posting a Kalima Tayyaba on the wall of a flour machine which belongs to him. He gives the details of the Aarsal case.

"A dispute took place in August 1992 between Mitah Ullah, an Ahmadi, and his cousin Fazal Ilahi, who declared himself to be a "Muslim" after his father died," says Chaudhry Rehmat Ullah. Fazal Ilahi was apparently unhappy about the majlis that assembled in front of Mitah Ullah's house. Fazal Ilahi filed a case under section 506 PPC accusing Mitah Ullah and five others of threatening him with murder.

"But they were not satisfied with this accusation alone," says Chaudhry Rehmat Ullah, "they wanted to disable the Ahmadis. On the instructions of Hafiz Akram Tufani, they engineered a talk with the Murrabi, Rana Aarsal Ahmad." Aarsal was at Chaudhry Rehmat Ullah's house when a number of men belonging to the Khatm-e-Nabuwat came to talk to him. "They asked a few questions about our faith which Aarsal answered and then left. The next thing we knew, a blasphemy case had been registered against Rana Aarsal and a case filed against me for 'posing as a Muslim'."

When Rana Aarsal learned about the case against him, he applied for bail before arrest. A month later his bail was

cancelled by Khan Talib Hussain Baluch, Additional Sessions Judge Sargodha. Justice Talib Hussain is the same judge who had earlier sentenced a Christian, Gul Masih, to death for blasphemy (the case is currently on appeal in the Lahore High Court). From the time his bail was cancelled on December 23, 1992, Rana Aarsal has been in the lock-up of the Sargodha District Jail.

Although Rana Aarsal and other Ahmadis of the village have categorically denied the charges, the police has not bothered to record their statements. As in almost all such cases, the police considered a mere accusation of blasphemy to be sufficient evidence on which to register a case.

"The FIR doesn't even provide the most basic of information, such as the date and time of the alleged offence," says Mohammad Aslam Bajwa, a lawyer from Sargodha. "How can the police register a case for an offence carrying a mandatory death sentence on such insufficient evidence?"

Hafiz Akram Tufani, the complainant, has never even met Rana Aarsal. He is reputed to be second only to Maulana Manzoor Ahmad Chinioti when it comes to anti-Ahmadi activism in the region. Hafiz Tufani was active in the registration of the blasphemy case against Gul Masih. "Akram Tufani is either a complainant or a patron in at least 20 cases of religious incitement," says Nasrullah Bhulli, Aarsal's lawyer.

In the Sargodha region, persecution, harassment and maltreatment of Ahmadis is becoming a common phenomenon. Hundreds of cases have been instituted under section 298 C, accusing Ahmadis of "posing as Muslims." But persecution through the law is only one form of religious fascism. People who have been declared "kafirs" are driven out of jobs and business, socially boycotted and abused in Friday 'khutbas' (congregations). Active gangs of "defenders of the faith" hunt for individuals of vulnerable communities who can easily be persecuted.

"This law is unjust and ambiguous since it does not define what amounts to an insult of the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh)," says advocate Nasrullah Bhulli. "If the vast majority of people were not tolerant and peaceful, every Ahmadi would either be behind bars or strung up."

Blasphemy Case Against Sunni Muslim Reported

93AS0985K Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
23 Jun 93 p 5

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] The blasphemy laws have claimed an unusual victim in Sargodha. Usually responsible for initiating charges against members of minority communities, this time a worker of the Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) is in the dock.

Zia-ul Haq, 20 years old, is the third person to face trial under section 295 C of the Pakistan Penal Code [PPC] in Sargodha District. The first was Gul Masih, who was convicted and sentenced to death on November 2, 1992, and is currently appealing to the Lahore High Court against the verdict. The second is Rana Aarsal Ahmad, a member of

the Ahmadi congregation. It is also the third blasphemy case to come before Additional Session Judge, Khan Talib Hussain Baluch.

Zia-ul Haq comes from Chakrala in Sargodha district. A matriculate, he has also graduated in an Arabic Fazil course from one of the Madarassah's run by Sipah-e-Sahaba in Sargodha. In February 1993, he and another SSP activist, Shaukat Aziz, were arrested by police on charges of involvement in an incident in which an Imam Bargah was set on fire. The incident took place on November 24, 1992. A few copies of the Holy Quran were also burnt in the process. Both were therefore booked under section 295-A and 298 PPC.

Zia-ul Haq came out of jail on bail on March 31, 1993. One day later he was caught with some anti-Shia printed material which he was photocopying for distribution. The material, which accused Shias of being "the worst kafirs in the universe," contains allegations insulting to the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh).

The accused does not dispute the prosecution's version of events, which are contained in the FIR [First Information Report]. According to this version, on April 1st 1993, Zia-ul Haq went to Mohammad Hussain, the complainant, who runs a photocopying machine in the Tehsil courts Shan Pur and asked him to make photo copies of a handbill. The handbill contained 12 points supposedly taken from books written by Shia scholars. Although the points are intended to be derogatory to Shias, in the process they are derogatory to Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) Hazrat Ayesha (RTA), Hazrat Abu Bakr (RTA) and Hazrat Umar Farooq (RTA).

The complainant, Mohammad Hussain, with the help of Shahid Hussain Sherazi, an advocate, and Baqir Hussain, a lawyer's clerk, lodged a First Information Report at the police station Shahpur Saddar. The police registered a case against Zia-ul Haq under sections 295-A, 295-C, and 298 of PPC and also under section 16 of M.P.O.

The case was initially taken before a Class I magistrate, Shahpur. The accused requested bail from the Session Court Sargodha and the application was rejected. There has, as yet, been no 'challan' in the case and a re-investigation is in progress on the application of the accused. Sheikh Jahangir Sarwar, who is the accused's lawyer and has represented the SSP in a number of cases says: "My client doesn't deny photocopying the handbill and stands by its contents. We don't agree with the argument that the blasphemy law is liable to misuse. But the Shias are powerful in the administration and that is why my client may have to stand trial."

Another activist and patron of the SSP, Ch Aslam Frooma, claims that there are currently several hundred cases against SSP workers and leaders under section 295 A. He also claims that the administration is with the Shias.

But the Shias have a different tale to tell. As the Additional Sessions Judge dismissed Zia-ul Haq's bail application, a large number of members of the Tehrik-e-Fiqah Jafria (TFJ) present in court heaved a sigh of relief. "If he had been released," said a local leader, "we would have expected much more trouble at Muharram."

Illiterate Eleven-Year-Old Facing Blasphemy Charges

93AS09851 Lahore THE FRIDAY TIMES in English
23 Jun 93 pp 4-5

[Article by Khalid Hussain: "Eleven-Year-Old Child in Prison for Blasphemy"]

[Text] An illiterate 11 year old child is in prison for writing blasphemous words on a mosque wall in the village of Rata Dhotraan, five kilometres off the Gujranwala-Hafizabad Road, near Hafizabad. The child, Salamat Masih, is currently in judicial remand at Gujranwala jail, awaiting trial for blasphemy under sections 295 A and 295 C which carry the death penalty. Two other co-accused—Rehmat Masih, 58, and Manzoor Masih, 20—are also in jail with him.

The complainant in the case against the three accused Christians is maulvi Muhammad Fazl-e-Haque, the 'Pesh Imam' of the village. He claims to have seen the crime being committed on May 9, 1993. "I was coming toward the mosque along with Nambardar Muhammad Bux and Haji Muhammad Akram in the evening when we saw the three of them standing near the mosque wall. They were writing something on the wall with red brick. We called out to them but they fled." Interestingly, the maulvi fails to note which one of the three wrote the blasphemous words.

The incident created ripples in the calm backwaters of Rata Dhotraan and adjoining villages. People of the area carried out processions the following day demanding death for the 'infidels'. The maulvi, of course, led these processions.

Christian families in the area were harassed and a few men and women were manhandled by frenzied processionists. The majority left the area and returned almost a week later, after things had calmed down. Others lay low. Some Christians in village Phokar and Kot Ladha were manhandled. The Protestant Church in Kot Ladha was attacked and its door damaged.

According to maulvi Fazl-e-Haque, who is supported by a majority of the Rata village's 5,000 Muslims, this was not the first time 'the Christians committed blasphemy.'

The cleric delivered a Friday sermon about a year ago maintaining that Jesus did not die on the cross. "It was written in the Quran that Jesus was raised to the Heavens alive," booms the maulvi. In his sermon the cleric had maintained that Christians were committing a sin by believing that Jesus died on the cross. "The Christians resented my sermon and retaliated by numerous covert acts of blasphemy," he maintains.

The first incident, according to the maulvi and his supporters in the village, took place about 10 months ago. Someone wrote a blasphemous sentence inside the mosque latrine with red brick. Then a note with a blasphemous statement written on it was found outside the mosque entrance about 7 months ago. This was followed by another blasphemous statement written on a 'Kalama Tayaba' poster in the mosque. Another blasphemous statement was found written on a village wall about a month back.

The poster and one of the blasphemous notes has been handed in to the police. However, no handwriting analysis has as yet been carried out.

"We have been on the look-out for the culprits for over 10 months now. God helped us and revealed the culprits," says Maulvi Fazl-e-Haque with a voice trembling with religious fervour. According to villagers, tension was high in the village and sectarian strife might have ensued. "We suspected the Shias," says villager Ch. Rehmat.

The maulvi alleges that Rehmat Masih, a tenant farmer and the area's most well-off Christian, masterminded the crime. In the First Information Report to the police he accuses Rehmat Masih of taking advantage of the child, Salamat, by offering him money to write the blasphemous statement. "Rehmat would write the words on paper and Salamat copied them onto the wall," alleges maulvi Fazl-e-Haque. He fails to explain, however, why on this occasion the child had written the blasphemous words if Rehmat himself had been present, or indeed, why the three of them were present together at the scene of the crime.

Rehmat rents 15 acres of land on a share basis from a Kashmiri living in nearby village Phokar and also owns a tractor and a trolley. He is reportedly very religious and has often entered into religious debates with the Muslims. He was arrested 6 days after the incident in Gujranwala where he was hiding.

The boy, interestingly, left school about five years ago, while he was still in class one. "He can't read or write a single word," says his mother who has to beg someone to read her the letters her husband, Anwar, writes her from Karachi. Anwar is employed with the Karachi Cantonment Board as a janitor. Meanwhile the police has managed to extract a confession from the child. According to this confession, Rehmat gave Salamat some money to copy blasphemous statements from a paper onto the walls.

Manzoor Masih, 38, is the father of eight children and has been booked for assisting Rehmat Masih in the crime. Rehmat used to visit Manzoor in Thathi quite frequently.

But the maulvi and his two witnesses are lying when they say that they saw "the three Christians writing blasphemous statements on the mosque wall." TFT's investigations revealed that it was an 11-year old child, Mujahid Abbas alias Meezo, who claimed to have caught the Christians red-handed. Meezo told village elders on May 9, after the blasphemous statement on the mosque wall had been discovered, that he had seen Salamat writing on the wall. When TFT asked the villagers for an interview with Meezo, they refused, saying he had nothing to do with the present case. "He came forward only after I saw the Christians writing on

the mosque wall. He told us that he had seen Salamat writing similar things earlier on the walls of the village," said maulvi Fazl-e-Haque.

It was again Mujahid Abbas who pointed out Salamat when villagers went to Thathi to apprehend him on the morning of May 10. Further investigations revealed that Mujahid had a row with Salamat two days before the incident took place.

But the most astonishing thing about the case was the degree of hostility villagers showed towards the Christians with whom they had peacefully co-existed for over 150 years. "There have never been any major differences between the two communities before this incident took place," says Ch. Muneer, a local landlord.

But villagers were so hostile that they demanded proof from this reporter that he was not a Christian. Another measure of their hostility was the resentment they showed when TFT insisted that the Christians' view should also be recorded. The maulvi deputed three boys to 'show the way to Thathi' the hamlet from which Salamat and Manzoor hail. It took some time to get the children to leave this correspondent alone with the Christians.

The people of Thathi are wary of outsiders, and only gave their version of events after checking out this reporter's credentials. But their caution was understandable. The hamlet was attacked on May 10 by a frenzied mob. Two women were injured after being hit by stones pelted abundantly on the hamlet's 20 odd houses. All Thathi menfolk had escaped to safer places and only women and children had been left behind. The mob mostly consisted of kids led by the local school teacher, Inayat.

Police also added their bit to the distress of the Christian community. On May 10, a police van came to Thathi and took away two Christians—Khadim and Taiib. They were beaten black and blue and released after one day in the lock-up, said villagers. "We could not sleep for two days and two nights," an old woman said, while describing the hamlet's ordeal.

"We have worked as kammiss (workers) of the landlords for five generations for next to nothing. Now we refuse to work if we aren't paid adequately," says an old Christian of Thathi. "They are, of course, not pleased." Another said that ever since they had stopped working for the local landlords they have been prevented from even entering their fields. Thathi people also insisted that Manzoor and Salamat could not have done what they have been charged with doing.

The hatred for the Christians was once again manifested by the villagers when this reporter was returning from Thathi. A group of young villagers harassed this scribe for accepting soft drinks from the Christians. "If you needed something to drink you should have asked us instead of drinking from their impure utensils," a young man said.

Foreign Investment in Nation Decreasing

93AS0984A Lahore *THE NATION* in English 13 Jun 93 p 11

[Article by Amir Mateen]

[Text] Islamabad—A massive drop of \$79 million in foreign investments, from \$342 million in 1991-92 to \$263 in 1992-93 is a setback for the ambitious government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif which takes so much pride in its economic policies.

According to the Economic survey released on Saturday, the biggest fall is in portfolio investments which saw a drop of \$89 million, from \$166.2 million in 1991-92 to \$77.2 in 1992-93, though direct investments have increased by \$10 million.

There is no bigger indicator of Pakistan's deteriorating relations with the US than the fact that it pulled out nothing less than \$54 million in the current year as compared to the last year. However, the U.S. continues to be Pakistan's biggest foreign investor, though its share has dropped from \$144 million in 1991-92 to \$90 million in 1992-93.

The drop in the investment is quite alarming. The government might have to reconsider its plans of setting up Investment Homes in six cities across the world, including Tokyo, New York and London. If the rate of the fall in investments continues the way it is going, there is no use of expanding the whole process. Setting the earlier projects in order should be the priority number one.

Another significant fall is in the UAE's investment in Pakistan. The Emirates lessened is \$40 million investment in 1991-92 to \$8 million in the current year. Saudi Arabia is, perhaps, the only country which has raised its investment from \$1.2 million in the previous year to \$8.6 million this year.

According to the survey, portfolio investment sharply declined by 53.3 per cent during July to March in 1992-93. Investments by overseas Pakistanis has notably contributed to the economy because of government incentives.

The survey throws light on the achievements of export processing zones, which exported goods worth \$105 million in the current year. The 59 industrial estates spread throughout the country have been given varying degree of exemptions from customs duty on imported machinery.

In the industrial sector, 108 industrial units have been offered for sale with the management of 60 units transferred to the private sector.

National Budget Summarized

93AS0985C Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English 15 Jun 93 p 2

[Text] Our first reaction to the budget presented by Finance Minister, Sartaj Aziz, is that it has not grappled with the stresses and strains in the economy that the Economic Survey highlighted the other day. One would think that he has been obsessed more by the current political instability in the country and the impact that some very urgently required stringent measures could have on the popularity of the Government. It is time that we clear our heads from any

illusions, that conceding to the demands of the industrial and business community and shying away from bringing the major sector in the country's economy in the tax net can in the long run be conducive to political and economic stability in the country. Indeed, we expected that in the background of the present economic situation Sartaj Aziz would devise a rescue plan to get the country out of the huge fiscal deficit and the ever tightening debt trap. What was required was to freeze the over-all budget at the current level at least, if no cuts were possible whatever the reasons, until economic growth produces revenues to match the expenditure.

In the present budget the current expenditure has gone up to Rs. 25.776 billion as against Rs. 23.517 billion showing an increase of 9.6 per cent. Out of this, debt servicing registered a 19 1/2 per cent increase from Rs. 101.555 billion in 1992-93 to Rs. 121.394 billion. Expenditure on Defence increased by 1.9 per cent and expenditure on General administration increased by 14.2 per cent. Here one would like to ask, where is that principle of austerity which has so often been repeated?

A promise has also been made to look into the wage problems of the fixed income groups and the pensioners. Here again we have to remind that in our present economic situation, wage policies that go beyond growth in productivity are more harmful to the economy and increase the burden on the wage earner.

The tax proposals devised to balance deficits are such that to a large extent diminish the advantage that could accrue to the manufacturing sector and agriculture. As has repeatedly been pointed out that economic growth depends on increased productivity with as little cost as possible and this productivity depends on power, water and communication. It is surprising that excise duty on POL [Petroleum Oil & Lubricants] products has been increased with a flat rate of 10 per cent and has been linked to the U.S. dollar parity of the ever depreciating Pakistan Rupee. Now oil is just one such commodity whose products are used in the production of electricity which is used for pumping the water that is used for agriculture apart from transport and other industrial activities. Besides this, excise duty on telephone calls has been retained even though at a reduced rate. This cost increase in all these sectors will definitely escalate the cost of production and make our products uncompetitive in foreign markets besides increasing the inflationary impact within the country. Has Sartaj Aziz been pressurised by the World Bank and the IMF to impose these taxes in the realm of what they call "User Charges?" However one would like to compliment him for taking courage to bring the agriculture properties registered in the names of minors in the wealth tax net which was so far exempted and was being utilised by the adults to escape the tax. But what is not understandable is the reduction of excise duty on weddings in big hotels while imposing 10 per cent excise duty on ceremonies taking place in the marriage halls and lawns though one cannot object to bringing the latter into the tax net.

The proposal to reduce slabs of direct taxation on public and private companies and banks over a five-year period is a step in the right direction as it could improve the pace of

capital formation in industrial and other productivity sectors. We hope that these concessions will not be totally negated by the increase in user charges. The new taxation proposals that are expected to yield Rs. 18 billion must yield this amount as they are very modest and do not match the estimated budgetary deficit which may amount to Rs. 107 billion. We also hope that Sartaj Aziz will abide by his determination to borrow more money only to service and repay the existing debts. For in a developing country, government borrowings should only be used for investment and not for current expenditure.

An obvious conclusion one draws from the budget as presented without access at this stage to the plethora of notifications, that would be part of the budget, is one of soft pedalling and pandering to the wishes of the pressure groups. We are constrained to draw such conclusion because the gravity of the economic mess that we are in at present is certainly not lost on this Government.

There is an impression that areas requiring exercise of hard choices and unpleasant decisions (at least in the short-term) have been left to be tackled for some other day, perhaps when the political dust of uncertainty settles down. As it is, over the years, the budget has not remained a sacrosanct document to be adhered to and followed strictly during the period for which it is presented. Mini budgets during the fiscal term and at times wholesale revisions of budgetary provisions have been resorted to by governments in the past and there is a general expectation that adhocism shall continue to be the rule still.

It would be unjust to lament Sartaj Aziz for bucking the tough decision for we have no doubt, considering the state of affairs that exist in the country today, anybody else would have done much different. We make bold to say that in order to tackle the budget deficit which continues to soar and despite promises by each successive government to reduce it, the deficit grows even more, it is now necessary that a bipartisan approach be adopted to enact legislation that would put ceilings on government expenditure, budget deficit, money supply and government borrowings. Such legislation, we feel, is the only way of charting an exit route if we are to get out of the debt trap and the deficit noose that is choking the economic jugular of this country to the point of asphyxiation.

Syria To Provide Phosphate

93AS0984H Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
16 Jun 93 p 1

[Text] Damascus, June 17—An agreement was signed here between the Phosphate and Mines General Company and the Pakistan National Fertilizers Company.

According to the agreement Syria would provide Pakistan with phosphate required for its fertilizer plants. It was signed by Syrian Assistant Oil Minister Issa Ibrahim and the Pakistani ambassador in Damascus.—APP.

Smuggling Claimed Damaging Economy

93AS0984I Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
16 Jun 93 p 1

[Text] Quetta, June 15—Ever-rising menace of smuggling causing national exchequer loss of Rs. 25 billion annually in the shape of tax and duty evasion as the agencies responsible to check smuggling have failed to perform their duties efficiently.

This is the outcome of the study on menace smuggling carried out by the Balochistan business community. Balochistan has developed into Pakistan's smugglers paradise because of easy access to sea, air and land routes of Far East, Middle East and the Gulf States.

In the past, smuggling was conducted by conventional means of transport such as camel, donkey and cycle caravans by the couriers. Now smuggling has been organised into a most profitable business. The smugglers have now adopted such measures as containerised operation payment for custom hounds and other members of anti-smuggling agencies at uniform rates regularised and up-to-date throughout Pakistan by the underworld operators.

Thus one container carrying dutiable cargo worth Rs. 50 million, at times, pays only Rs. 1 million as duty. Under rules, duty on such cargo should be around 50 to 100 and 50 per cent involving payment of Rs. 50 million. Once such almost duty free cargo lands in, smuggled goods are transported to Karachi, Quetta and Peshawar serving as transshipment stations for flourishing the menace of smuggling.

The smuggling between Pakistan and India through the Punjab and Sindh borders is also on the increase touching a mark of Rs. 10 billion a year.

These containers mostly bring in electronic goods, VCRs, VCP, VTRs, video films, photographic films, papers, cameras, watches, cosmetics, tubes and tyres, auto spare parts, cigarettes, foreign cloth, fine shoes, refrigerators, deep freezers, air conditioners, processed and canned fruit. There are about 250 importers of luxury goods and most of them are being pushed out of business, because smuggled goods are around 30 per cent to 50 per cent cheaper in the open markets.

Balochistan Budget Summarized

93AS0985A Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
17 Jun 93 p 2

[Text] The annual budget of the Balochistan government presented to the Provincial Assembly on June 15 by the Balochistan finance minister, Nawab Aslam Raisani, was marked by over 18 per cent increase in financial outlay and a surplus in resources over the estimated revenue expenditure. These features, by and large, conveyed relatively smooth sailing for the provincial government in matters of resource availability vis-a-vis budgetary outlays. No ambitious planning of development efforts was discernible in the parameters of the provincial budget. This explained the tax-free characteristics of the budget because attempts at resource mobilisation by the provincial government would

have involved imposition of some new levies on certain sectors of the provincial economy.

The budgetary outlay was estimated at Rs 12.9 billion as compared to the last year's size of Rs. 11.1 billion. The province's major component of revenues consisted of its share in surcharge on natural gas amounting to Rs 4,150 million and excise duty plus royalty from natural gas which yielded Rs. 1,313 million. Additionally, the province's share in the divisible pool of federal taxes amounted to Rs 3,240 million. The province's own revenue generation amounted to Rs 479 million which worked out to only 5 per cent of the total revenue estimated of Rs 9,290 million. This showed that the province has a very meagre potential for raising revenues excepting the wealth of natural gas, the income from which, it may be recalled became a rightful part of the provincial government's revenue after the award of the National Finance Commission about two years ago. Prior to this award, transfer of resources from the federal government were described as grants.

The steady increase of income from this source over the last two years combined with improvement in the share of provinces in the federal government's divisible pool of tax revenue, the provincial governments appear to have received a cushioning impact on the growth of their revenue receipts.

Balochistan is rich in fisheries and mining in addition to a steady pace of expansion in industrial investment particularly in the Lasbela district. The details of efforts in the form of planning and practical moves in the context of resource mobilisation through appropriate levies in the above sectors, should have highlighted the budget speech. At the same time, progress made towards the province's avowed goal to accelerate the pace of economic and social development specially in the spheres of health, education, road construction, exploration of drinking water in far-flung areas, etc., should also highlight the provincial budget. It appears that the recent predomination of political tug of war in the province, overshadowed the affairs of the provincial government and consequently, appropriate economic planning for stepping up the pace of investment, became a victim.

It is encouraging to note from Nawab Aslam Raisani's budget speech that the provincial government will encourage the private sector for its participation in wide-ranging economic activities in the province. But no concrete schemes or proposals to invite private investors in specific fields such as industry, mining, transport, road construction, etc., were unfolded in the budget speech.

The provincial budget for 1992-93 showed a revenue surplus of Rs 855 million thanks to current expenditure remaining lower as Rs 8,434 million than the estimated revenue receipts of Rs 9,290 million for 1992-93. Expenditure from revenue account showed 12.4 per cent increase over the previous year's budget of Rs 7,500 million.

Of the capital budget, public sector development programme would absorb Rs 4,518 million, made available mainly by the federal government while the province's own contribution was estimated at only Rs 700 million. Allocations appear to be evenly distributed with top priority to

agriculture followed by power development, Quetta Development Authority, rural development programme, control of environmental pollution, etc. Education and health accounted for Rs 104.92 million and Rs 58.68 million respectively.

New job opportunities are planned to be created in the province for 5,226 workers in different categories compared to 4,800 jobs created last year.

If seen in the light of the ongoing development projects of Gwadar port and Saindak mines, it is hoped that the province would pick up momentum in its economic activity in the next couple of years.

Sindh Budget Summarized

93AS0985B Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
19 Jun 93 p 2

[Text] The Sindh finance minister, Saleem Jan Khan Mazari pulled a big surprise in the form of a sizeable deficit of Rs 1,842.488 million in the provincial government's budget for 1993-94 which he presented to the Sindh Assembly on June 16. The deficit is only a little lower than the provincial government's own generation of tax revenue in the budget which was estimated at Rs 2,305.971 million for 1993-94 compared to the last year's revised estimates of Rs 2,024.455 million. Thus, the provincial government's potential to cover the huge budget deficit from new tax efforts is conspicuously low. This fact was further illustrated by the estimated amount of only Rs 383.325 million which is proposed to be raised through new tax measures in the budget. Thus, the colossal budget deficit did not have any correlation with the proposed mobilisation of additional tax revenue.

The provincial finance minister in his budget speech did not spell out the major heads of expenditure, and extra-ordinary increase in which might have caused the big deficit in the budget. His reference to Sindh's share in the federal government's divisible pool of taxes being based on 1981 population census though the population increase carried a higher rate than other provinces, appeared to explain fairly clearly that the provincial government aimed at demanding adequate revenue from the federal government as its rightful share. This approach cannot but be endorsed.

The province's revenue budget including a current capital receipt of Rs 654.561 million was estimated at Rs 22,736.604 million showing roughly 10 per cent increase from 1992-93 estimates of Rs 20,840.638 million. The increase worked out to 5 per cent as compared to last year's revised estimates of Rs 21,620.950 million. The revenue budget comprised the inflow of Rs 18,375.404 million from the federal government representing Sindh's share in the federal divisible pool. A 10 per cent increase over last year's Rs 16,489.489 million.

The provincial government's own generation of tax revenue in the budget estimates amounted to Rs 2,305.971 million compared to the last year's revised estimates of Rs 2,024.455 million. Additionally non-tax revenue receipts of the provincial government amounted to Rs 2,055.228 million showing decrease from the last budget estimates of Rs

3,048.911 million (revised). The sizeable decrease of Rs one billion in the provincial government's non-tax revenues, could be described as one of the causes of the budget deficit of Rs 1.84 billion.

The provincial government's tax efforts in the budget appeared to be largely concentrated on urban settings in that such taxes as a sizeable rate of 30 to 60 per cent surcharge on property taxes, increase in motor vehicle tax, non-utilization fee on open plots including non-utilization of mining concessions, upward revision of stamp duty on transfer of immovable properties, etc. It may be pointed out that while the pinch to be felt by the tax payers in the above spheres would be quite harsh for middle and low income groups, the tax collection would not be significant as compared to the sizeable budget deficit.

An important avenue of tax mobilisation is the income from operations in the agriculture sector which the provincial finance minister has completely overlooked to tap in some form or the other such as suitable levy on orchards and on big dealers of food grains and cash crops. The registration fee for car dealers, as proposed in the budget, could also have been extended to registration of grain dealers in the province's grain and cotton markets.

The province's annual development plan remains pegged at Rs 5,000 million. There is no reason why the size of the annual development plan could not be increased through better planning. The financing could be explored with multilateral financing agencies in addition to invitation to the private sector to selectively participate in wide-ranging development efforts, particularly in spheres like road construction, development of industrial estates, expansion in health and education facilities, etc. It may be emphasised that lopsided investment activity by the private sector in the social sectors like education and health, should be coordinated by the provincial government keeping in view the supply gap of these facilities at different locations in the province.

The financing of the annual development is reportedly based on a cash development loan of Rs 3,042.925 million while the provincial government would arrange an amount of Rs 1,957.074 million. The status of the on-going projects under the annual development plans does not seem to have been properly publicised so that the general public could be enabled to make out the progress in the implementation of the ADP [Annual Development Program] projects. It is well-known that ADPs usually carry forward the incomplete projects to next year. In view of this, a proper explanation in the annual budgets appears imperative to distinguish between the on-going and new projects.

Apart from the ADP, the Tameer-i-Sindh programme, is in operation under an allocation of Rs 10 billion made in 1990 by the federal government. The Sindh government has so far reportedly utilized only Rs 1.751 billion. What is needed is an accelerated pace of development under the allocated amount. There is a state of under-development in every sphere of socio-economic life in the province and

therefore, a serious effort needs to be put up for preparing suitable projects of maximum economic value under the Tameer-i-Sindh programme.

Economic Crisis Said Deepening

93AS0985E Karachi DAWN in English 20 Jun 93
(Supplement) pp II-III

[Article by V.A. Jafarey: "IJI Policies Deepen Economy's Crisis"]

[Text] A review of the financial year now ending would be useful, before considering the budget for 1993-94. The sudden drop in growth rate from 7 per cent in 1991-92 to 3 per cent in 1992-93 has caused great concern. This adverse development has to be viewed in the perspective of our past economic performance and the structure of our economy.

Pakistan has a good record on growth in output (averaging over 6 per cent in the 1980s) but like many developing countries, the output is subject to fluctuations, the two reasons being weather conditions which affect agriculture and changes in foreign demand, which make an important difference to the cotton textile industry.

It is risky to generalise on a single year's performance, which can be affected by exceptional conditions. If, therefore, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government's record is to be judged, it should be on the basis of average of several years. A comparison of IJI government's performance in three years of office, with the average of the preceding eight years, when different governments were in power is given below.

Growth Per Annum		
	1990-93	1982-90
	(IJI)	(3 different govts.)
GDP	5.5p.c.	6.3p.c.
Large scale manufacturing	6.05p.c.	6.8p.c.

It appears that growth rates, under IJI government is definitely below the average, compared to those under predecessor governments. In a limited space it is not possible to argue the matter, at length. My conclusions are briefly as follows:

1. Under the IJI government the economy has produced below its average potential. The slower growth in large scale manufacturing is particularly surprising, since the IJI government lavished such attention and favours on it.
2. The structural reforms (which the IJI government accelerated rather than initiated) were in the right direction but have not produced any impact on the rate of growth in output. A possible reason for this failure could be that structural change is effective only when combined with macro-economic stability. The IJI government failed to reduce fiscal and external deficits and in fact, aggravated the imbalances. Their reforms have failed the most important test of success, namely a sustained increase in output, at a rate visibly greater than in the pre-reform years.

Vulnerable to Shocks

3. The economy remains vulnerable to external shocks (recession in foreign demand for textiles) and internal shocks (adverse weather). While the development of an agricultural system, less exposed to adverse weather, can be regarded as a long term process, the inability to deal with variations in external demand for textiles is partly a failure of policy, towards which both government and entrepreneurs have contributed. For a long time, observers have been pointing out that Pakistan's export base is narrow and needs diversification. Ignoring this, the government has been encouraging indiscriminate industrialisation, through unwarranted subsidies and concessions, multiplying spinning mills and sugar factories, without any thought to the diversification of the industrial base.

4. The consequence of distorted investment priorities is also becoming evident. How will the enormous expenditure on the motorways and taxicabs help to raise output or reduce the enormous deficit that has emerged on the external current account? Limited public resources have been used to indulge in the hobbies and pet ideas of individuals, instead of being deployed to meet essential economic and social needs.

This rather long introduction was essential to emphasise the vital importance of macro-economic balance and prudent choice of investment priorities, if economic progress is to be on a sustained basis. The next year's budget has to be judged on the basis whether it will be moving the economy into a more balanced position, with reduction in fiscal and external deficits and more realism in choice of investments.

Little Change

A cursory look at the budget, presented on June 14, reveals little change from IJI government's previous strategy of heavy and inequitable indirect taxation, massive spending with distorted priorities, continued neglect of social sectors, heavy fiscal deficit, leading to increased inflationary pressures and disarray in the monetary field. The government has no concrete plan to deal with the balance of payment crisis, which has now emerged in an aggravated form.

The Finance Minister has held out an assurance that the fiscal deficit would be kept to Rs. 85 billion or 5.5 per cent of GDP. The promises made by Mr. Sartaj Aziz, during the last three years and their outcome are compared in the table below.

Fiscal Deficits				
	Promises		Outcome	
	Rs.billion	%GDP	Rs.billion	%GDP
1990-91	59	5.8p.c	91	8.7p.c
1991-92	59	5p.c	94	7.8p.c
1992-93	65	5p.c	over 100	over 8p.c
1993-94	85	5.5p.c	?	?

It is clear that a promise to reduce the deficit is a ritual to placate the donors and the public. The commitment is not serious. It has not been honoured in the past nor would the

government keep to it next year. The deficit, with public corporations included in it, is likely to be 10 per cent Rs 135 billion of GDP, next year.

A reduction in fiscal deficit requires a two-pronged attack to raise revenues and contain unproductive expenditures. In the matter of raising revenues, the government has made formidable efforts, in the aggregate, as is evident in the heavy taxes, imposed in each budget, as follows.

New Taxes	
1991-92	Rs.18 billion
1992-93	Rs.18 billion
1993-94	Rs.22 billion

Regrettably, the distribution of the tax burden has been highly inequitable, with heavy reliance on indirect taxation, including some withholding taxes, misclassified as direct taxes. For the very rich, there have been subsidies and exemptions, on the exase[as printed] of encouraging investment. There has been a failure to restructure the system of direct taxation. All these weaknesses are evident in the tax proposals for 1993-94.

Tax on Farm Income

Despite the subtle propaganda about the government being anti-feudal, the issue of agricultural income tax has again been shirked. The question has been referred to a committee. The exemption of shares from capital gains has been extended and the favoured few, with access to bank credit, are free to make fabulous profits in the stock exchange, and remain untaxed. Documentation of the economy has been given a feeble mention. A basic reform of direct taxation is not even envisaged. Pakistan is to be made safe for billionaires.

The tax burden is fairly and squarely on the middle class and the common man, who will not only be the ultimate taxpayer of indirect taxes but also the main victim of higher inflation. Incidentally, the reasons given for increase in petroleum prices are plausible but ignore the fact that POL prices were last fixed during the Gulf crisis, when crude prices were much higher than today. The increased tax on petroleum is meant to finance the Motorway and should be called the Motorway surcharge to give a sense of participation to those, who live remote from where this mammoth project is being implemented.

One of the IJI government's principal economic failure has been the unwillingness or inability to control public expenditure, to fix priorities in national interests, observe norms of financial rectitude and discipline and eschew the use of public funds for partisan political gains. The budget for 1993-94 shows that the government does not intend to change its habits of extravagance and misspending.

The IJI government, in the first two years in office, increased non-developmental expenditures at the rate of 20 per cent annum. For the third year, 1992-93, we are informed that the Revised Estimate of non-developmental expenditure amounting to Rs 235 billion are only 10 per cent higher than in the previous year. A slowdown in

expenditure would be welcome, provided it was true. Past experience shows that actual expenditures are higher than the Revised Estimate. The true rate of spending is deliberately concealed. It is not possible to rely either on the promises or figures of the government.

For development, the budget for 1993-94 earmarks Rs. 135 billion, of which Rs. 75 billion is for spending through Federal and Provincial Governments and Rs. 60 billion through corporations. The total is reportedly 6 per cent higher than last year.

Massive Distortions

Apart from slow growth in development spending (in fact, a cut in real terms), the budget reveals the massive distortions and misallocation of resources that are taking place in the public sector development programme. The regular programme, which caters for a range of activities of concern for the wellbeing of the common man, such as education, health, agriculture, etc., is being heavily squeezed. The allocations, insufficient as they are, have been subjected to a shortfall of 37 per cent. In other words, two-fifth of the allocations are not backed by funds and are therefore, fictitious. In particular, the social sectors continue to be neglected. Grandiose targets have been announced for primary education but commensurate funds are not visible in the budget. Instead of increased spending on well-thought-out regular programmes, the government has diverted massive funds for a few favourite projects, whose priority is doubtful. In addition, large sums of money have been earmarked for special programmes, which are exempt from normal financial discipline and constitute a vast discretionary fund, for the politicians in power.

A few examples of glaring distortions in development spending should suffice. In the budget for 1993-94, a few motorways will get Rs. 11.4 billion when the provincial development programmes of Punjab and NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] put together get Rs. 12.3 billion only from the federal budget. The government perception of priorities is also evident in the fact that Rs. 4 billion has been earmarked from credit funds for taxicabs to employ 25,000 persons, when the federal contribution to the development programmes of Sindh is only Rs. 6.4 billion, and even the total programme for Sindh is Rs 10 billion.

Environment

To digress a little, the Prime Minister had represented the Third World at the Rio Conference on environment. An important rule for environmental preservation is that no major project would be undertaken without a study of its environmental repercussions. One would like to know whether any study of impact on environment has been undertaken in the case of the Islamabad-Lahore Motorway, which will be a massive structure cutting across the drainage and flood plains of northern Punjab.

Heavy fiscal deficits, financed by borrowing from the State Bank have produced a great disarray in the money market. Broad money has been growing at 20 per cent per annum, three to six times greater than the increase in real output.

Year after year, the credit budget is breached and government borrowing swallows up the bulk of the credit available. Interest rates for the private sector are at unprecedented high levels. Anomalies, arising out of subsidised interest rates are increasing. There has been undisclosed but possibly heavy private borrowing from abroad. In 1992-93, monetary expansion had reached Rs. 72 billion by December 1992 against the annual credit budget of Rs. 47 billion. Developments since then are not known. The Finance Minister, in his budget speech, evaded review of the monetary situation.

External Account

In 1992-93, the external account has undergone serious deterioration. The global recession has brought about a slow-down in exports while imports have been rising fast. The current account deficit is now estimated at \$2.8 billion as against \$2.1 anticipated by government. Of the deterioration of \$600 million, \$400 million are attributable to excess imports of motor vehicles, because of the taxicab scheme. In addition to the deterioration in the basic position, the political crisis led to sudden withdrawal of a large quantum of short term deposits, depleting the foreign exchange reserves. (The Government had been repeatedly warned not to overrely on very short term deposits which can easily turn volatile.) We do not know what government proposes to do to deal with this external crisis. Clearly, the fixing of high and unattainable targets for exports in the budget will not solve the problem. A recourse to external donors for special assistance will be necessary but Finance Minister, after pledging to go for self-reliance, feels shy of mentioning the possibility.

The spendthrift policies of the government have generated a temporary boom, which has produced a sense of prosperity, among the affluent classes but inevitably it has enhanced the risk of runaway inflation. The government has been able to contain inflationary pressures through liberal imports but this may become difficult in future. A price would have to be paid for mistakes that are being made and the cost would ultimately be borne by the common citizen.

Azad Kashmir Budget Summarized

93AS0985D Karachi DAWN in English 21 Jun 93 p 13

[Text] The Azad Kashmir finance minister on Thursday presented a Rs 4.59 billion tax-free budget for the fiscal year 1993-94, showing a deficit of Rs 890.74 million. Its development expenditure is of the order of Rs 972.38 million and non-development expenditure, incorporating a one-to-three ratio, is to the tune of Rs 3.62 billion. The imbalance between development and non-development outlays is comparable to budgetary estimates of the last year, which earmarked Rs 1.5 billion and Rs 3.20 billion, respectively, under the two heads. Correcting the imbalance had significance in the context of AJK's [Azad Jammu Kashmir] development and in view of the devastating floods of last year which upset many important schemes.

Although the government will obtain resources for its non-development expenditure from forests (Rs 280 million), and electricity (Rs 470 million), there is the traditional reliance

on Azad Kashmir's share in federal taxes, estimated at Rs 754.60 million, and AJK council income tax (Rs 650 million). Total resources of the territory for 1993-94 are estimated at Rs 1.09 billion. During the 1992-93 budget, the finance minister disclosed that Rs 730 million would be granted by the federal government in distribution of taxes. At that time royalties from Mangla Dam and Kashmir property were still being negotiated, indicating the difficulties in receipt of resources. That complaints on this score persist was clearly indicated by the AJK finance minister at his post-budget Press conference where he was critical of what he called the failure of the successive governments in Pakistan to give Azad Kashmir its "due share" out of federal taxes. The Government of Pakistan is expected to provide Rs 1.72 billion to meet the deficit for the next year.

The Annual Development Programme [ADP] of Rs 693.84 million is oriented towards the growth of the social sectors in which the territory is lagging behind. The lion's share has been given to the rural development programme for which an amount of Rs 148 million has been set aside. Care should be taken that schemes under this programme are able to cater to the needs of small communities scattered across the territory and provide for equitable growth. Health and education have been allocated Rs 52 million and Rs 78.84 million, respectively. Greater accent on these sectors was called for to make up for the past neglect as well as to set the pace for the future. Rs 50 million have been provided for refugees. It is not clear how far this amount will help in tackling the problem of succour for displaced persons. There are reports that some relief camps and aid centres have been closed down. The share of industry is Rs 18 million, compared to Rs 24 million in the last budget. The allocation for agriculture is even less at Rs 14 million, compared to the previous year's provision of Rs 25 million. Electricity has been given Rs 80.80 million.

Central to the realisation of development targets is communications which has only been allocated Rs 223 million, compared to Rs 260 million in the 1992-93 budget. On the strengthening of infrastructure depends the growth of tourism, handicrafts, small-scale industry, animal husbandry and forestry—all of which have considerable potential for development. At present, the high accident rate in Azad Kashmir, due to poor roads, discourages tourism. Schemes for potable water, construction of roads and bridges and housing need to be speeded up to overcome the ravaging effects of the floods. Facilities for fruit storage and processing should be developed as part of efforts to promote income generating programmes. The development of Azad Kashmir's considerable hydro-electricity potential also needs to be pursued vigorously.

Growth Targets Claimed Unrealistic

93AS0984K Karachi *BUSINESS RECORDER* in English
21 Jun 93 p 2

[Editorial: "The Overambitious Growth Targets"]

[Text] The highly ambitious growth targets, as envisaged by the government, which have been unfolded in the federal finance minister's budget speech, appear to be an attempt to assuage the unpalatable and unnerving impact of the almost

allround faltering performance of the economy that confronts the nation as outlined in the Economic Survey and evident from the largest-ever budget deficit.

The finance minister has projected GDP [Gross Domestic Product] growth at 7.5 per cent in 1993-94 and the principal reliance to achieve this goal has been placed on agriculture, in which the growth is targetted as high as 9.4 per cent in contrast to 3.9 per cent decline or negative growth in 1992-93. It is true that taking the unusually low production figures of this year as bench-mark, the next year's growth rate, even if most of the production levels remain at par with 1991-92's (previous year), would prove to be quite high as compared to 1992-93. However, even this optimism is not expected to support the assumption of as high a growth rate as 9.4 per cent in agriculture in 1993-94. In the first place, this sector is dependent quite heavily on favourable weather conditions which invariably have not proved to be as such both for Kharif and Rabi crops. The statistical record of the past several years shows that agriculture has remained highly elusive in its growth performance. Its average rate of growth has been found to be pegged at around 3 to 3.5 per cent annually. This explains the country's failure to achieve autarky in the production of wheat despite concerted policy efforts to tame recurrence of unfavourable weather and other conditions. Thus, the government's pinning of high hopes on agriculture for achieving spectacular growth in the economy as a whole in the next financial year, appears to be unrealistic.

In the case of industry, the government has seemingly displayed cautiousness in projecting its growth rate for the next year at 8.1 per cent. It may be pointed out that the industrial sector failed to come up to the mark in the current financial year, and the value-added products registered an increase of only 5.5 per cent against the target of 8.3 per cent. The failure on the part of this sector to progressively improve its contribution to the economic growth, to a significant extent, is a matter of deep concern because the industrial sector enjoys all the desired policy supports from the government. The recent economic reforms are also mostly geared in favour of investment in industry. This sector also enjoys such concessions as tax holiday and duty-exemption on imported machinery on a fairly widespread basis, both area-wide and by types of industries.

As Sartaj Aziz referred to in his budget speech, it is not possible for the country to enter the comity of nations of middle income group without pushing forward the pace of industrialisation. The basic weakness of the industrial sector is that it consists of by and large a single type of industry—textiles—and thus diversification into other important and sophisticated industries like engineering, chemicals, electronics, etc., is yet to be achieved. The progress in this direction remains perceptibly slow. In last year's budget speech, the policy for the creation of special industrial zones was announced. As to whether any progress has been achieved in the coming into being of these zones so far, the answer is not available in the finance minister's budget speech though he repeated the mention of special industrial zones. However, the crushing impact of the 10 per cent increase in POL [Petroleum Oil & Lubricants] prices,

effected in the budget, would further endanger improvement in the industrial growth. The inadequacy of power in the country combined with frequent power breakdowns and load shedding is undoubtedly a major feature underlying the slow progress in industrial investment, both domestic and foreign.

The additional power generating facilities which were installed and commissioned during 1992-93 recorded a growth of 12.7 per cent while the next year's target, aims at a growth of 18.4 per cent or addition of 1849 megawatt. Despite a fair rate of growth in power generation facilities, the overall demand for electricity from all types of consumers, appears to be rising with double the rate of annual increase in power generation capacity. In view of this, all policy or procedural hurdles that might be found to be in the way of speedy progress in private investment in power sector, need to be identified and removed.

On the export front, the government envisages a target of 15 per cent increase. It may be recalled that the target for export growth in 1992-93 was 19.5 per cent but actual increase recorded in exports during 1992-April 1993 turned out to be only 3.6 per cent. It appears that causes for the slow-down in exports are yet to be adequately examined and identified by the relevant authorities and agencies. It may be emphasised that unless the adverse factors are tamed with appropriate changes in strategies for export promotion, mere fixing of a growth target would be futile exercise.

Thus, the ambitious growth targets in different sectors for the next financial year seem to underline a strategy to work out a lower budget deficit vis-a-vis the GDP. It is in the light of the projected growth rate of 7.5 per cent that the government has estimated lowering of budget deficit to 5.5 per cent of GDP as compared to 7 per cent in the current financial year. The basis of this optimism does not seem realistic.

Credit Curb on Imports Sought

93LA0211B Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English
22 Jul 93 p 2

[Article: "Credit Curb on Imports"]

[Text] Imposition of 30 per cent margin on the letters of credit against imports by the State Bank of Pakistan, a few days ago, has triggered protests from the various trade bodies including the apex organisation the FPCCI [Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry]. The SBP [State Bank of Pakistan] move, which understandably aims at selectively controlling rapid expansion in bank credit, has exempted a few items of imports viz POL [Petroleum Oil & Lubricants] products, pharmaceuticals and edible oil in addition to imports in the public sector, appears to be at variance with the existing regulatory concept in the monetary policy, which was introduced and enforced effective 14th January 1992, wherein the long-held quantitative ceilings on bank advances were abolished; and subsequently the credit expansion was sought to be regulated through observance of credit-deposit ratio which initially was fixed at 65 per cent, reduced to 30 per cent of local currency deposits and 40 per cent of foreign currency

deposits. Finally, now this ratio stands at 30 per cent of all deposits, which showed the enhancement of squeeze on credit expansion. At the same time, strict applicability of prudential regulations designed to exert restraint on expanding trend in bank credit is also in operation.

These measures apparently represented the tools of the central bank to regulate monetary expansion in a market-based financial sector. These are indeed designed to allow structural adjustments in the banking system within the framework of self-imposed discipline in contrast to the earlier credit ceiling clamp and other regulatory methods which reflected more an administratively-controlled monetary system rather than promotion of self-discipline in the strict sense of modern banking.

The SBP's role to counteract inflationary tendencies in the economy through credit control measures cannot be denied but these steps ought to be preferably limited to the principles of self-discipline in banking. The measures like credit clamp on the financing of imports through application of LC margin appears to be akin to reverting to quantitative clamp on bank credit. What is surprising in the move, as also pointed out in the statements of the representatives of the trade bodies, is its indiscriminate applicability on industrial raw materials, machinery, spares and consumer goods. In view of this, the move seemingly negates the objectives of promoting a steady increase in the production of industries specially export industries sought on the trade policy by allowing liberal imports of machinery, spares and raw materials. In fact, the Trade Policy's thrust in this direction is underlined by widescale reduction and exemption of customs duty on the import of machinery in a number of export industries.

The imposition of 30 per cent margin on LCs against imports would obviously affect the liquidity position of both industrial and commercial importers. In consequence, inflow of imports of essential industrial raw materials, machinery and spares is likely to be slowed down which, in turn, would adversely affect the tempo of industrial production. The implications may further lead to backlash effects on the economic activity as a whole.

It may be emphasised that if at all the resort to imposition of 30 per cent LC margin was unavoidable in the fact of more than the projected monetary expansion, which was estimated at 18 per cent in 1992-93, it should have been directed against non-essential imports by excluding the imports of raw materials and machinery by export industries.

As unfolded in a report, in the Business Recorder recently, the undesirable increase in monetary expansion in the current year was contributed by government borrowings specially for budgetary support which amounted to about Rs 67 billion against the earlier projections of Rs 48 billion. Thus, the clamp of margin on imports amounts to punishing the private sector for the bad effects of the government's spree of borrowings from the banking system. It may be pointed out that the switch-over of government's short and long term borrowings from the banking and non-banking sectors to market-based rates is based understandably on the

aim of restraining the government's access to cheaper bank credit at the fixed rates. Now what is needed more is to restrict government borrowings from the banking system and thereby to exercise a curb on the rising inflation. Contrarily, a drop in industrial production as a consequence of LC margin on imports would adversely affect the supply side of goods and services, which would add to inflationary pressures in the economy.

The authorities would be well advised to take a fresh look at this issue and gradually roll back the cash margin limit, leaving it to individual bank's discretion based on credit rating of the customer.

Cotton Exports Reportedly Decrease

93LA0211D Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English
26 Jul 93 p 12

[Article: "Cotton, Made-Ups Exports Fall in 1992-93"]

[Text] Karachi, July 25: After facing a sharp fall in the cotton and cotton products exports, the target for this sector for the current fiscal (1993-94) is around 4.695 billion dollars, reflecting a rise of 17.72 per cent over the last year's figure of 3.988 billion dollars.

Total exports during 1992-93 have suffered a massive drop from the fixed target of 8 billion dollars and also from the figures of 1991-92. The former was in the deficit of 1.215 billion dollars and the later 119 million dollars or 1.72 per cent. It may be mentioned here that during the last financial year total export earnings stood at 6.785 billion dollars as compared with 6,904 billion dollars in 1991-92.

According to sources, during the current financial year the share of cotton and cotton made-ups in the total exports is 58.68 per cent or 4.695 billion dollars. This includes cotton yarn worth 1,080m, fabrics 918m, ready-made garments 663, cotton-made ups 400m, towels 156m, bedwear 468m, raw cotton 336m, knitwear & hosiery 588m, and tents & canvas 86m dollars.

In comparison, last year the total figure for cotton and cotton products was 3.937 billion dollars. The break-up is cotton yarn 1,109m, fabrics 853m, ready-made garments 602m, cotton made-ups 124m, towels 138m, bedwear 346m, raw cotton 268m, knitwear & hosiery 458m, and tent & canvas 39m dollars.

The share of other exportable commodities would be around 41.14 per cent. Their figures are: rice 375m dollars, leather garments 405m, leather 285m, carpet & rugs 230m, sports goods 170m, fish & fish preparations 200m, surgical instruments 92m, petroleum and its products 100m, and fruits and vegetables 74 million dollars.

Item wise during 1992-93 rice fetched 313m, leather garments 383m, leather 221m, carpets & rugs 164m, sports goods 121m, fish & fish preparation 179m, surgical instruments 94m, petroleum and products 72m, and fruits and vegetables 52m dollars.

During 1992-93 synthetic textiles fetched nearly 488 dollars and its target for the current year 1993-94 is around 510m dollars.

According to the statistics, exports grew at an annual average rate of about 15 per cent from 2.4 billion dollars in 1984-85 to substantial growth of 6.9 billion dollars in 1991-92. The worst hit is the textile sector and there are no signs to arrest the persistent downward trend. But after the ten per cent devaluation of Pak rupee there will be a slight edge for the goods and they could be more competitive than earlier, as it is expected the current target could be achieved.

Iran Seeks Common Border Markets

93LA0211E Karachi DAWN in English 26 Jul 93 p 1

[Article: "Iran for Common Border Markets With Pakistan"]

[Text] Karachi: Iran has established Common Border Markets on its borders with Turkey, Turkmenistan and Afghanistan, and these were operating successfully, said Iran's Ambassador to Pakistan.

Speaking at farewell meeting hosted by the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce & Industry (FPCCI), he said that Pakistan authorities had been provided detailed proposal with regard to the establishment of common border market on Pak-Iran border and some Pakistani officials had also visited the common border market on the Iran-Turkish border.

He said the creation of such markets would help minimise smuggling, promote genuine trade between the two countries and ensure quick transaction for meeting urgent requirements of both the countries.

The Iranian Ambassador invited FPCCI to hold solo exhibitions of Pakistani products in Iran to give better idea about the products of Pakistan.

He invited Pakistani businessman to avail of the investment opportunities available in such areas as communications, energy, steel and iron, chemicals, petro-chemicals and transportation projects in the first five-year plan launched for the reconstruction of Iran.

Replying to a query, Javed Mansoori said that the Iranian Government would shortly issue the notification for concessionary imports into Iran under ECO protocol of preferential tariff.

Earlier Mir Afzal Khan, Acting President, FPCCI suggested that the concessionary imports within ECO region should not be confined to a few items under ECO preferential tariff but the concession be made available on all items manufactured within the region and be made freely importable from worldwide sources under the import policy of the importing country.

The Acting President FPCCI called for a big increase in border trade between Pakistan and Iran. He drew the attention of the Ambassador to reports that presently our border trade with Iran was one-sided.

Khan added that "while goods from Iran are freely allowed into Pakistan, but our exports to Iran are being discouraged, especially export of bananas and kinoos."

He pointed out that some time exports to Iran was not allowed for want of L/C to be established by Iranian banks and sometime Iranian importers even required to have approval from Iranian banks. He requested the Ambassador to look into the matter and resolve it.

Qureshi's Economic Reforms Seen Aggressive, Caution Urged

93LA0225A Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
21 Aug 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Moeen Qureshi's Package of Economic Reforms"]

[Text] Caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Qureshi announced Thursday a package of economic reforms to pull the country out of economic straight jacket. The package includes imposition of wealth tax on agricultural holdings, a tax on farm income at the rate of two rupees (6.6 per cent) per Production Index Unit (PIU), a substantial raise in atta and ghee prices, and a sop to the poor by way of Rs 100 to government employees in Grades 1 to 16, and a promise that there will be no further tariff changes. Besides, a number of unnamed capital intensive projects will either be abandoned or their implementation postponed. The package also promises unspecified punitive action against those who do not pay water and power bills and vows to introduce documentation of financial transactions to avoid tax evasion.

These are radical economic steps taken by the Caretaker government and will naturally invoke a mixed response from politicians. There will be criticism that in undertaking such far-reaching measures the caretakers have exceeded their mandate and acted beyond their moral and political authority. It will be said and not without justification, that the primary responsibility of the caretakers is to hold fair and free elections and to leave decision on substantive matters to the next elected government. According to reports the PML(N) [Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)] has already reacted strongly to the far-reaching economic decisions by the caretaker government and termed these as "destroying the economic fabric of the country."

Objections against the caretakers making fundamental decisions are quite understandable, but it is also a fact that our electoral process has become corrupt over the years that it is unrealistic to expect our legislators to effect the badly needed changes both in the realm of politics and economy. No matter which political party or parties win elections, the Assemblies are invariably dominated by a few powerful groups who represent at best the interests of a few thousand families. They have represented the forces of status quo and resisted all efforts aimed at bringing about a change. The political and economic power has remained concentrated in their hands as they have refused to allow its redistribution along more fair and equitable lines for the benefit of all sections of the society. Because of the tight hold of a very small minority on all the economic and political power levers of the country, no change in the system could be brought about despite elections. The power transfer which apparently took place in the wake of successive elections was largely a manipulated power transfer as the same vested

interests groups and families were returned to the Assemblies albeit under a different party label. If we look back at our history we will find that at the root of all our political misfortunes lies this phenomenon of manipulated power transfer.

Nothing illustrates better the manipulative power politics of a small microscopic minority than the issue of bringing farm incomes under some sort of taxation. Despite the election promises made by all political parties no government has been able to impose tax on agricultural income because the Assemblies have always been dominated by powerful feudals and landlords. In January 1977, late Mr Bhutto did move in this direction but was soon overwhelmed by events and his government was toppled, in which the feudals played an important part. Benazir promised it but could not do anything during her 20-month rule (except appointing a Commission) because her party was dominated by the landlords. The IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] of Nawaz Sharif also promised it but was soon rendered powerless by the powerful feudal lobby in his alliance. His Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz once bluntly admitted before the Islamabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry that it was impossible for the political government to tax the agricultural income. The feudals have continued to rule this country, but refused to pay taxes. They must realise that it cannot be allowed and people have begun to question whether those who refuse to pay taxes have any right to sit in the Assemblies and (mis)rule the people.

Likewise is the issue of recovery of outstanding utility bills. WAPDA [Water and Power Development Authority] alone is owed over ten billion rupees in outstanding bills by public and private sector establishments and by politically powerful and influential individuals. No efforts to make these powerful people disgorge public funds have succeeded and WAPDA has been forced to resort to frequent tariff raises to meet its developmental needs and as a result burdened the ordinary consumer. Only last week it raised power tariff yet again—the third time in a year. When it is pointed out that WAPDA should recover its outstanding bills instead of raising electricity charges the Authority turns around and says that it cannot do so because the defaulters are not only too powerful individuals but also include public sector establishments. When the issue was agitated a few weeks ago by the concerned public the erstwhile government of Nawaz Sharif quickly set up a committee to examine the causes of default and suggest remedial measures. But everyone knows that the committees are set up only to postpone taking hard decisions.

Other decisions such as increasing the wheat and ghee prices are hard to defend because they will adversely affect the common man and further fuel the inflation which is already running well over 15 per cent a year. Ever since the caretakers took over government the powerful vegetable ghee and cooking oil manufacturers have been demanding a ban on commercial imports of edible oil allegedly to reap windfall profits by creating monopolies and artificial shortage as happened recently in the case of cement.

The caretakers also have to exercise abundant caution in another area. The package of economic reforms just

announced will also raise questions about their long term interests and plans. Speculations will now be fuelled whether the caretakers will stick to their schedule of holding free and fair elections or they will seek an implementation of their reforms before elections. Which means that elections may even be postponed and they will extend their stay beyond the period specified by the Constitution. This issue also came up recently in a petition before the Lahore High Court when the Court observed that accountability before polls is against the mandate of the Constitution. The Court held that the proposal that the law providing for the disqualification of members of the Assembly through summary proceedings be promulgated, is not feasible as the enactment of such a law falls outside the domain of the Caretaker Government. The caretakers have to dispel the impression that by initiating upon long-term policy decisions they have any intention of staying longer than the period stipulated in the Constitution.

The Caretaker Prime Minister indeed has unveiled rather unusual agenda for his government. No matter how important it is to implement this agenda it also places a premium on the caretakers credibility. They must now demonstrate that in some of the decisions none of their ministers has self interest and that collectively they stand by their public commitment to hold free and fair elections on October 6 and to disappear from the scene as soon as the elected government is in place as a result of elections.

Economic Reforms Praised, Seen Realistic

93LA0226G Lahore *THE NATION* in English 3 Sep 93 p 7

[Article by Shahid Mahmood: "An Appraisal of the PM's Economic Package"]

[Text] The gentleman was reluctant to take over on health grounds, the reigns of a country that was bitterly entangled in a political and economic mess. He was made to realise the gravity of the situation and was again asked to come forward to bring the country out of this political impasse and lead the nation towards another election—the solution arrived at by the troika. He gave a second thought to his original decision and flew to Islamabad to take oath of the premiership that was his by birth, but he had never had the opportunity to serve it.

Mr Moeen Qureshi and his team's key mandate is, no doubt, to hold free, fair and impartial elections no the scheduled dates, and the caretakers are doing whatever is essential to achieve this end.

But the economic situation in the country had deteriorated to the extent that as an economist, Mr Qureshi could not be a silent spectator. This was the right time and opportunity for him to concentrate his energies on a sector in which he had earned repute the world over.

Economic planning in Pakistan has always been subject to political expediences and governments have been resorting to short-term and ad hoc measures for issues which needed well-considered and long-term planning. This approach did serve their political ends but the gravity of the problems kept multiplying. Since Mr Qureshi's list of dos and don'ts is not linked to any political motives, we have for the first

time witnessed the economic measures which are solely aimed at putting 'the economy back on the right track'.

Agriculture has always been rightly considered as the backbone of our economy. But we have miserably failed to exploit the full potential of our land. Even the highest and most developed irrigation system could not help us be self-sufficient in agricultural produce. We still import large quantities of wheat and edible oil. To decrease the import bill, the government has given farmers an incentive in the shape of a new price package. Unlike the past, the announcement of a price package much before the start of the Rabi crop season will provide sufficient time to the farmers to plan and arrange inputs for the next crop. Certainly they are going to bring more and more land under cultivation to maximise production ultimately resulting in better monetary returns. Increased production of wheat and oil seeds will save foreign exchange on the one hand and stabilise the market prices on the other.

Despite being the largest sector of our economy, agriculturists were hitherto exempt from all taxes. This has always remained a sore point for the tax-payers who mostly are either salaried persons or businessmen. By introducing the agricultural tax the government has not only pacified the non-agricultural tax-payers but also expects a fair increase in its resources.

The economic sagacity of caretakers can well be judged from the fact that they have allowed the provinces to collect Rs 2 on every PIU above 4,000 Produce Index Units. This will add to the provincial resources thereby decreasing the demands for provincial grants.

Agriculture remained and will remain the largest sector of our economy. In the past, it has always been treated as a 'handicapped' sector and it was never allowed to develop and prosper on modern lines. A reasonably good price for the farmer's produce and with it a network of cottage rural industry can make this sector not only viable but also a single large source of revenue for the government. The economic and social programme of Mr Qureshi envisages commercialisation of the agricultural sector. Instead of announcing concessions and other limping, ad hoc measures, a bold and realistic approach has been adopted to make the farmer a dynamic economic actor instead of a grower who always utilises land to meet only his domestic needs for the season and sell a marginal surplus to the middle man at a low price.

Having described the merits of the package one should not ignore the fact that effective implementation alone will determine the final success of the policy. Implementation of this revolutionary package requires a well-advised mechanism and efficient machinery. Unfortunately, the present administrative set-up is not fully geared to perform this gigantic task. There are some inherent flaws in the system which instead of facilitating the implementation of innovative ideas, always offer resistance to whatever is new or unfamiliar. Under these circumstances, the people of Pakistan would not be altogether at the fault were they to express their reservations regarding the outcome of his economic package. The only encouraging factor is that the Prime Minister is not ignorant of these

shortcomings in the system and he in the same speech, promised to revamp the administrative machinery.

Notwithstanding the history of high-sounding policies and half-hearted implementation in the country, Pakistanis could genuinely be optimistic about the realisation of the goals of this economic package in view of the balanced and realistic approach of the caretakers towards the economic ills. Optimism about the success of the policy also stems from the fact that the policy does not only offer promises, but also reminds every Pakistani to pay his due share in the development of the country.

Qureshi Economic Reforms Termed 'Much-Needed'

93LA0226B Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
5 Sep 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Salvaging the Economy"]

[Text] Caretaker Prime Minister Moeen Ahmed Qureshi, in his maiden address to the Senate, revealed some home-truths about the state of our national economy which had been kept as a close secret by the previous political government. He emphasised that when he took over on July 18, the economy was on the brink of a total financial collapse. The position of short-term debts and liabilities was so dilapidated that Pakistan would have been declared as a bankrupt and insolvent country, if his government had not taken steps to improve the economic situation. Referring to the trade situation at the time, the caretaker Prime Minister said that the exports were declining and imports were increasing enormously by when the major item on the import list was yellow cabs on which a sum of 750 million dollars was spent. This amount was higher than the total spendings on health and social welfare. The budget deficit demonstrated a total lack of fiscal control and

the federal and provincial governments were running on overdrafts from the State Bank. The inflation rate in the previous few months stood at 9.3 per cent.

Why did this dismal economic situation surface in the country? The simple answer is that in Pakistan political solutions have been applied to economic problems. Economy in Pakistan has also suffered from the tyranny of the politicians who would not hesitate to make it subservient to their vested interests. This lack of commitment to the economy landed it in a complete mess and led to financial chaos. The caretaker government, uninhibited by any political constraints, has introduced far-reaching economic reforms to rehabilitate the economy on sound lines. Economic problems cannot be swept under the carpet simply by resorting to adhocism which the previous governments had been doing, thus adding to the mess. Their challenge has to be met and this is what the caretaker government has done. By the devaluation of Pakistani rupee, India has been forestalled in capturing foreign markets at the expense of Pakistan. The raise in the support price of wheat would enable our farmers to benefit from the money which at present is being spent on the import of wheat. Similarly the price of edible oil has been increased to encourage its local production. During the last year, Rs 3,000 crore were spent on the import of wheat and edible oil. Petroleum prices have also been raised to bring them at par with the international level in order to attract foreign investment in oil and gas exploration. The overall rise in price level is just the price that has to be paid to revamp the economy in the long run. The caretaker government has initiated the much-needed bold economic agenda which has already started yielding fruit but its full benefit will be reaped by the incoming elected government.

British Navy Frigates Purchase Reported

93AS0985H Karachi DAWN in English 23 Jun 93 p 1

[Article by Athar Ali]

[Text] London, June 22—Britain and Pakistan are negotiating a deal for the sale of six frigates at present in use by the Royal Navy. The British government, it was officially stated, has agreed in principle to the sale and details are now being worked out by the two sides.

The frigates, Pakistan is interested in buying from Britain, will replace those on lease from the United States to Pakistan Navy which are to be returned.

A Ministry of Defence [MOD] spokesman told DAWN that Pakistan has expressed definite interest in Type 21 frigates and these will be refitted to meet Pakistan's requirements. The frigates are fitted with 4.5 inch guns and are able to fire Exocet and Sea Cat missiles, though the missiles will not be part of any deal that is finalised.

The MOD spokesman stated that the frigates on offer are in good operational condition. "They are sound class of ships and have given very good service to the Royal Navy." Some of them have seen action during the Falklands conflict. They vary in age, the oldest having been built in 1974 and the latest in 1978. They are fitted with general purpose Rolls Royce Olympus engines.

The Ministry of Defence is not willing to disclose how much the deal is worth but, according to one source, the whole deal will come to about 150 million pounds.

U.S. Allegation of Chinese Missile Sales Condemned

93LA0171B Lahore JANG in Urdu 24 Jul 93 p 3

[Editorial: "Allegation of Sale of Chinese Missiles to Pakistan"]

[Text] A Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the news about China providing Pakistan with M-11 missiles is baseless. He said that Pakistan's stand on this issue is clear, and that there is no proof about the transfer of these missiles. China has also denied the U. S. accusation. Still, the United States has threatened that if China provides Pakistan with M-11 missiles, restrictions will be imposed against the former. In this context, a U. S. official is talking with Chinese leaders. The United States is trying to use the pictures taken by satellites as the basis for this Chinese-Pakistani deal. Pakistan and China are two independent nations and are close friends. They are free to make any kind of agreement for their mutual benefit. However, the United States, as the world's only superpower, wants to force its desires on every issue. This is a violation of international laws. First, it started baseless propaganda over our peaceful nuclear use, trying to blame us for terrorism. Pakistan is finally free of the terrorism accusation; however, they have raised the question of Chinese missiles now. When both Pakistan and China are denying it, then the United States should consider it seriously and should review its attitude.

Private Participation in Defense Production Urged

93LA0211C Karachi BUSINESS RECORDER in English 24 Jul 93 p 2

[Article: "Private Participation in Defence Production"]

[Text] Absence of any significant progress in the participation of the private entrepreneurs in defence-related industries in Pakistan was reportedly attributed to bureaucratic snags and certain uncalled-for rules by Major General Mahmood Ali Durrani, Chairman Board of Directors of Pakistan Ordnance Factories [POF]. The Chairman POF appeared to be forthright in his emphasis that without a full-blooded entry of the private sector in defence industry, which hitherto was treated as a sacred cow reserved exclusively for the public sector, a break-through into high-tech areas in defence production would remain a far-fetched goal to accomplish. He is undoubtedly very right in his analysis of and projections about the prospects for a real fillip to the development of defence industry in Pakistan.

The Chairman POF, who addressed the Karachi Chamber of Commerce & Industry [KCCI] the other day, did not elaborate on the snags and POF rules that seemingly hindered active planning and investment by the private sector in this field. There is reason to emphasise the need for streamlining the conditionalities by the federal government for the private sector to coordinate with the POF in the establishment of projects to modernise and expand the existing production range in the POF not only to supplement and strengthen the existing range of production at Wah but also to explore new fields in defence-related industries independently.

The President Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Tahir Khaliq reportedly pointed out the fact that projects relating to arms and ammunition and defence production continued to be retained by the government in the specified list of industries, and consequently all such projects required prior permission and approval by the relevant agencies and authorities. This shows that procedural hurdles have so far discouraged the prospective investors in the private sector from entering this field. In view of this, deregulation of this industry by specifying a wide range of products and components, that could be listed and spelt out by the POF and the ministry of defence, appears to be desirable with a view to paving the way for private investment in this industry. As pointed out by Tahir Khaliq the exclusion of the private sector from this industry over a very long period in the past was one of the factors that explains the private sector's relative apathy to defence-related industry. On the top of this, discriminatory rules causing discouragement to the prospective private investors also need to be drastically amended. This was in fact agreed by the Chairman POF who reportedly felt that all-possible incentives and encouragement should be extended to the private sector.

One of the important steps taken by the Chairman POF was stated to be the change in the definition of a private supplier or manufacturer of certain parts and components from a contractor to a partner of the POF. The definition of a contractor, it may be pointed out, must have involved

advance deduction of presumptive tax from payments which are made to a contractor under the existing tax laws.

It is encouraging to note that the POF has been supporting the development of vendor units for the manufacture of multifarious components and parts of weapons that are produced in the Wah factories. Major General Mahmood Ali Durrani was definitely right in his assertion that the POF should preferably be geared to only assembly of parts and components of different types of weaponry instead of engaging itself in the manufacture of components as well. These components, in his view, should be manufactured and supplied by the private sectors including the vendor units. This is indeed a right approach, the viability of which can hardly be doubted. A proper planning and implementation of this thinking would make it possible for the POF to expand its facilities to new and high-tech avenues. At the same time, the private investors would be increasingly encouraged to devote to the manufacturing of components and sub-assemblies with a view to catering to the requirements of POF.

Resource constraint is the serious hurdle that impedes adequate flow of public-sector investment in defence industry in case it is retained exclusively in the public sector. The fiscal deficit recorded a new high at Rs. 107 billion in 1993-94 budget, which obviously explains the government's inability to go in a big way in the expansion of defence production. The process of expansion and modernisation in this avenue of top priority cannot be allowed to stagnate or slow down. The answer definitely lies in allowing full-fledged participation of private investors including joint ventures with foreign companies. Procurement of new technology from friendly countries can hardly be overlooked. Moreover, defence industry also offers a vast potential for export earnings. The present exports by POF were estimated at \$30 million annually. There is no reason why export markets for defence-related products should not be further explored through a sustained increase in the capacity for the manufacture of defence items.

Planned Purchase of French Mirage Planes Criticized

93LA0171A Lahore JANG in Urdu 25 Jul 93 p 11

[News Report: "French Teams Returns to Paris After Talks on Mirage Planes"]

[Text] A team of French experts have returned from Paris to Islamabad after discussing the Mirage 2000 deal with Pakistani officials. According to reliable sources, Pakistani experts have reviewed the technical aspects of the Mirage 2000 planes and have given a negative report. According to an expert on fighter planes, the Mirage 2000 would prove to be white elephants for Pakistan. They are very expensive planes, and they require a lot of money for spare parts and maintenance. It could not be learned whether the Pakistani government has dropped the plan to purchase the Mirage 2000 planes or is still considering it.

'Major Breakthrough' Claimed in Defense Production 93LA0211K Lahore THE NATION in English 18 Aug 93 pp 14-15

[Article by Monazza Qazi: "Major Breakthrough in Private-Sector Defence Production"]

[Text] A large-scale grass-root level explosives-manufacturing plant, named BIAFO, has been sanctioned for the first time in Pakistan. It may be called a major breakthrough in civilian participation in defence. Of course, there is no direct military application, but the technology applied is the same as that used in the manufacture of explosives. The production will be put to commercial use.

Disclosing this, Mr Aman-ur-Rehman, Director, Manufacturing BIAFO Industries Limited, said in an interview that the commercial explosives technology being used in Pakistan was 40 years old and it was a 'take it or leave it' situation. The introduction of new technology would make our products commercially viable and contribute to providing a base for more sophisticated products.

It is a Rs 250 million project spread over 25 acres with a capacity to produce 7,500 tonnes of explosives.

Here are details of the interview:

Q: The Pakistan government has been manufacturing explosives in the past. Then what is special about this explosives-manufacturing plant called BIAFO that has been set up?

A: In Pakistan, arms-manufacturing has so far been restricted to the government. This is unlike Europe, the US and other developed countries, where private manufacturing of tanks, guns and other arms is quite common. Poor governments are often unable to keep pace with the rapidly changing technology applied to production of arms and ammunition. For instance, our government has to import defence materials using scarce foreign exchange resources, and if the supply is closed, the country remains vulnerable. This is the first time in Pakistan that a large-scale grass-root explosive-manufacturing plant has been sanctioned in the private sector. Therefore, I would call it a major breakthrough of civilian participation in defence.

Q: Is the production for commercial use?

A: Yes. There is no direct military application, but the technology involved in the manufacture of explosives is fundamentally the same. The real difficulty lies in manufacturing the chemical. If the purpose is commercial, the only difference is in the quantity manufactured, and in the packaging of the chemical. The basic explosive substance, with the addition of changed mechanical equipment, could be used for military purposes. This means that for the first time in the history of Pakistan, the civilian sector has been exposed to handling material that could ultimately lead to more sophisticated manufactures.

Q: Where did you acquire the technology for the manufacture of these explosives?

A: The technology employed has been purchased from the Dupont Company in USA. The classical commercial explosives used worldwide were nitroglycerine based. They were

sold as dynamites. Dynamites, because of their nitroglycerine content, are extremely dangerous as they are very sensitive to shock, fire, etc. Countless accidents have occurred because of the inherent danger of the material. Further, when a dynamite is stored and exploded, it gives off fumes of nitroglycerine which cause severe headaches. In fact, when tunnelling, or on confined applications, the site is generally abandoned for a few days after blasting so as to permit fumes to escape.

These factors led the US government in the 60's to force the commercial explosives' industry to invent a safer, less health-hazardous alternative to nitroglycerine dynamite. Dupont was the first company to come up with a non-nitroglycerine explosive of similar performance characteristics as dynamite, but which was totally safe in handling, and devoid of noxious fume. This new technology was called "Water-gel explosive." BIAFO has purchased the plant and technology for manufacturing a vast range of water-gel explosives for use in every conceivable application. A major advantage of water-gels over dynamite, apart from safety in storage, handling and fumes, is that it is waterproof and can be used for underwater blasting. The technology transfer from the USA not only provides BIAFO with the plant equipment and current technology, but also gives them access to all innovation and developments in this sector for the next several years at no additional cost.

Q: Why did you decide to set up a plant of explosives?

A: We realised that the commercial explosives' technology being used in Pakistan was 40 years old, and the required services were not being provided. In Wah, they make defence and commercial explosives. Perhaps because of monopoly power, the latest technology was not being acquired, and the nature of the product is such that it is not easily imported. It was a "take it or leave it" situation. We felt that by introducing new technology, we would make the product commercially viable and also contribute to making a base to manufacture more sophisticated things.

Q: Who are the buyers that you foresee in the market for your product?

A: Amongst other buyers, we foresee the mining industry, for example, the copper mines developed in Balochistan and the coal mines in Sindh. Governments are now realising the asset that mines are. Money is saved by reducing imports of locally mined ores. Mines are a net source of foreign exchange earning. Once the mining industry develops, the use of explosives will develop geometrically. Explosives are also a requirement of the rapidly expanding cement industry in Pakistan. The Government of Pakistan is expanding trade ties with Central Asia. The building of networks of roads and tunnels requires explosives. Pakistan has poorly developed oil resources. Seismic exploration also requires explosives.

Q: Were you adversely affected by the political instability of the country?

A: Unfortunately, yes. A UK-based investment house had contacted BIAFO late last year with the objective of investing foreign funds in the equity of the company.

Several technical and financial teams were sent to study and evaluate the project and the outcome was that the company decided to invest in the equity of BIAFO. Unfortunately, a week prior to the signing of agreements, the previous government was dismissed. The event was interpreted by the corporate board of foreign investors as indicative of instability in Pakistan, and they backed out.

Q: What does BIAFO stand for?

A: BIAFO is the name of a glacier in Gilgit. One of the company's promoters went to Gilgit. The power and beauty of the awesome glacier inspired him to name the company BIAFO. Our explosives are called "Tovex." This is the brand name of Dupont that we are entitled to use.

Q: Where is the plant located?

A: It's located on a 40-acre piece of land at Hattar, the new industrial estate established by the government of the NWFP [North-West Frontier Province]. Tax concessions are offered to industry settlers to provide jobs to people in the Haripur District.

Q: What is the structural set-up of your company?

A: It is a public limited company. Fifty per cent shares will be floated in the market, and the rest belong to the promoters, people who conceived the project and invested in it. All the promoters are retired senior business executives from the oil or banking sector. Interestingly, this is one of the few ventures being handled by non-industrialists.

Q: How many people do you employ

A: Since it is a highly computerised and automated plant, we employ 40 people. They are all Pakistani engineers and expert technicians, most of whom have been trained in plants in the USA, Korea and Hong Kong.

Q: Did you take any safety measures into consideration when setting up the plant?

A: Definitely. The plant has been laid out on stringent international standards of safety. For instance, all the structures that process chemicals to manufacture explosive substances are located and constructed underground and so we have an elaborate system for preventing natural disasters that are caused by lightning and all forms of static electricity, etc. We have also ensured that any explosion damage be contained within one structure. Also, our computerised system is designed to detect even the slightest flaw. Should this happen, the entire plant is automatically shut down.

Q: How much did this venture cost and what is the capacity of production?

A: It is a 25 crore (Rs 250 million) project. Successful production has started recently, and the plant has a capacity of producing 7,500 tonnes of explosives. We ultimately plan to expand.

Submarine Purchase From France, Sweden, China Planned

93LA0211L Lahore *THE NATION* in English 18 Aug 93 p 10

[Article: "Pakistan Contacts France, Sweden, China for 6 Subs"]

[Text] Islamabad (NNI)—Pakistan is negotiating with France, Sweden and China to urgently purchase six Submarines specially after US government's persistent

demand to return its eight naval warships, earlier acquired on lease. According to official sources, the initial contacts with France, Sweden and China have been encouraging. According to report published in *Khaleej Times* the Navy Chief Admiral Saeed Mohammad Khan had visited the United States last year but could not convince the American authorities to further extend the lease, and subsequent higher level contacts also did not produce any result.

Child Labor Condemned, Reform Urged

93AS0984C Lahore THE NATION in English 30 Jun 93 p 4

[Editorial: "Child Labour"]

[Text] The number of child labourers in Pakistan is, according to a recent UNICEF report, 8 million. Although some may contend that this figure is an exaggeration, the fact remains that these mites are driven by poverty to work long hours in hazardous, unhealthy trades for appallingly low wages. In the carpet industry, for instance, wages are as low as ten to twenty rupees a day and the employers provide no health security. Work deprives them of schooling. We have among the highest rates of population increase in the world, with a relatively low investment rate of 17 percent of GDP [Gross Domestic Product] which is below the average of the majority of low income countries. With the low rate of growth which our economy has experienced of late, 3 per cent to be precise, additional job opportunities are not being created anywhere near adequately. This imbalance between job seekers and the demand for their services will, in all likelihood, further exacerbate. A further cause for anxiety is that 45 per cent of the total population is in the age group of fifteen years or less, and in the years to come the number of children working could perhaps increase.

This year a Bill was moved in the U.S. Congress which advocated the severance of trade relations with countries which employ child labour in contravention of ILO [International Labor Office] conventions and this created apprehensions in the concerned quarters that apart from tarnishing the image of the country, it would seriously hamper Pakistan's exports to the U.S. Carpet manufacturers, the major employers of child labour, repeatedly present the argument that if children are not allowed to work in this industry, it would rub off the competitive edge that our carpets have in the international arena. Some callous individuals even hold that poor households would be denied this source of income were child labour to be banned. The practice is abhorrent and all efforts should be made to promote the integration of working children in education.

Disturbances in Gilgit Seen Increasing

93LA0219A Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 22 Aug 93 p 2

[Editorial: "Riots in Gilgit"]

[Text] A 'lava' of riots has again spread over Gilgit, and according to the news received so far, more than a dozen persons have lost their lives and an equal number are wounded. It is a shameful fact that a nation that claims to uphold peace and harmony has divided into factions and communities against each other. The incidence of fights over minor disagreements has become routine. The obvious reasons for the recent riots in Gilgit are factional disagreements; however, antinational elements may be behind them. They want to destroy law and order in our country by instigating communal hatred. The amazing thing is that similar incidents have taken place in Gilgit in the past; however, the local or central government has not taken any foolproof steps to stop such them. It is the basic responsibility of the caretaker government to keep law and order and pave the way for general elections. It seems that the antinational elements

want to create this situation threatening law and order in order to delay general elections. The government, therefore, should be very careful. It is the duty of the scholars of various schools of thought to keep the feelings of their followers under control. Islam is against pushing disagreement to the brink of fighting, and they know the importance of unity of agreement. Religious leaders must do their duty in keeping people away from riots and fighting. The persons involved in the Gilgit riots must be apprehended and strict action must be taken against them so that the people may be rid of the fear and apprehension caused by such incidents. These persons, regardless of the group they belong to, are playing into the hands of the enemy. They must, therefore, review their own actions.

Punjabi-Language Newspapers Making Reappearance

93LA0225J Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English
23 Aug 93 p 3

[Text] Lahore, Aug 22—The Punjab Capital will have another Punjabi daily WANGAAR within next two months as the declaration for this newspaper has been authenticated to Mr Fakhar Zaman, Chairman World Punjab Conference.

Mr Fakhar Zaman who is also a central leader of Pakistan Peoples Party talking to APP said that WANGAAR would be first Punjabi daily comparable in standard with any Urdu or English daily being published anywhere in the country.

He said bringing out a new daily particularly in Punjabi was an uphill task but he was confident for the success of his project as six crore Punjabis were looking for a national daily in their mother tongue.

Mr. Fakhar Zaman said that WANGAAR which means challenge, would project the cultural and political ethos of all those whose languages and heritage was derided upon.

He said as he himself would be Chief Editor of the paper therefore, the policy of the newspaper will be impartial and it would keep up high standard of journalism by pursuing objective of neutrality.

He said although he was associated with Pakistan Peoples Party but the Punjabi newspaper would not be effected by party politics as the party has already its own organ daily MUSAWAAT.

Mr. Fakhar Zaman said that he had never received any benefit like plot, permit, licence or loan using his career as a politician; therefore, he was confident that he would never compromise in the field of journalism.

When asked about the financing of the daily as the previous Punjabi daily SAJJAN was closed down due to financial crisis, Mr Fakhar said that he would be able to pool his personal resources and those of his friends to make this viable project. He said that a larger number of people have promised to give donations to him for the cause of promoting Punjabi newspaper.

Replying to a question about already low percentage of readership for Punjabi newspaper, he said, there was need to educate and to motivate the people towards Punjabi language

and added that one of the mission of his Punjabi newspaper would be promotion of Punjabi language.

He hoped that WANGAAR would be a household name and become part and parcel of the psyche of every Punjabi living anywhere in the country and abroad.

He said that he had the experience of publishing a Punjabi weekly under the name of WANGAAR but it was folded during the martial law regime.—APP.

Only 1 Per Cent of High School Students Said Able to Pass Exam

93LA0225C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
24 Aug 93 p 6

[Text] The Higher Secondary School Certificate Examination, part-I result, of the Federal Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Islamabad, has been declared with a highly lamentable 1.26 per cent of the total number of 15,295 candidates managing to pass in all seven papers! This means a staggeringly low 193 candidates. As for the others, those who cleared six of the papers come to 6,373 in number. This leaves 8,729 who have failed in five or more papers. It is extremely saddening that the standard of education has fallen so deplorably low. Especially when we consider that the majority of these students got admitted to colleges on the merit system after doing their matriculation. This means that only those who secured well in excess of 600 marks received admission. If this is the case with merit students, God help those who do not fall in this category. Obviously the fault must lie either with the students or the teachers. It is difficult to believe that students who obtained enviable marks in the matriculation examination could, in the short span of one year, become so feeble-minded as to have shown such disgraceful performance. That leaves the teaching staff.

The matter of education is far too serious to be left at that. The government should set up a competent body of eminent educationists to thoroughly probe the declining standard of education in the country. Apart from other inherent drawbacks in the system of education, this body should look into the pay structure under which teachers are required to work.

Ways and means should be found to improve instruction at the school level so that students find college studies easier. While we are about it, we might think of a bigger budgetary allocation for education.

Writer Forecasts Disintegration of Nation

93LA0225E Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST in English*
29 Aug 93 p 4

[Article by Zafarullah Khan: "Future Shape of Pakistan in 1006: More States To Emerge"]

[Text] Islamabad—A Canada-based Pakistani writer, Abul Maali Syed in his book, "The Twin Era of Pakistan" has

predicted drastic geographical changes in the region by December 30, 2006, i.e., the centenary of the Muslim League, the party that pioneered the creation of Pakistan.

The book, published by Vantage Press, New York, last year, carries a map showing at least five states in the area presently constituting Pakistan. According to the map the "republic of Balochistan, Sindhudesh, state of Liaqatabad, free republic of Kashmir and central Pakistan with NWFP [North-West Frontier Province] as its western and a slice of Sindh as its southern wings," will replace the present day Pakistan.

"Who would have believed that Balochistan, once the least populated and poorest province of unified Pakistan, would become independent and the third richest oil-producing country after Saudi Arabia and Kuwait?" predicts Abul Maali Syed. He adds that from Pasni to Gwader there is a duty-free international port like Hong Kong in the Far East.

Similarly he has predicted a Balochistan having tall sky touching buildings, Quetta university built on the American standard having Nobel prize winners as faculty members, Japanese industrial plants on the pattern of Middle Eastern and European markets, German oil refinery and petrochemical plants with skilled workers from Korea and Taiwan.

Although the writer has aligned himself with "the poor, the peasants and the downtrodden people of Pakistan to whom my mother belonged," but while elaborating Pakistan's future nationally and internationally has propagated 'unpopular ideas'.

It is worth mentioning that Abul Maali Syed was born in Bihar, India (1941), shortly before his family immigrated to Pakistan. He holds degrees from the university of Karachi and Pacific Western University of Los Angeles. His master's thesis at Pacific was titled, "The evolution of Third World debt crisis, role of the IMF and recommendations to resolve the crisis." He is currently a chartered administrator for England as well as a business and marketing consultant.

The Toronto-based Abul Maali Syed is director of the World Minorities' Awareness Society.

"The nation which forgets its own history, in the fullness of time, the geography forgets the nation, he writes. However, he has exhorted peoples' allegiance to the democratic institutions instead of personalities if they wish to restore and preserve the democratic process.

Touching on the odds of Pakistani politics the writer has traced 'the germs of dictatorship' from the very first day of independence. Criticising the ruling hierarchy of Pakistan Abul Maali Syed views bureaucracy as hindrance in the way of peoples' participation in the political process.

The book covers the period from the birth of a Pakistan nation in 1947 to Nawaz Sharif entering the power corridors in 1990.

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